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Contents:—

1. See opposite.
2. Tracy, J. Colonization and Missions. A Historical Examination of the State of Society in Western Africa 3d Ed. 1845.
3. Wilkeson, L. A concise History of the Commencement, Progress and Present Condition of the American Colonies in Liberia. 1839.
4. Lugenbeel, J. W. Sketches of Liberia 1850

(1) *New York N.Y.*

EXAMINATION

OF

MR. THOMAS O. BROWN,

A Free Colored Citizen of S. Carolina,

AS TO THE ACTUAL STATE OF THINGS

IN

LIBERIA

IN

THE YEARS 1833 AND 1834,

AT

THE CHATHAM STREET CHAPEL, MAY 9TH & 10TH, 1834.

NEW-YORK:

S. W. BENEDICT & CO. PRINTERS, 102 NASSAU STREET.

1834.

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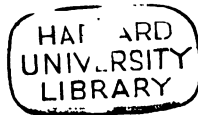
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1874, Dec. 11.

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Wm. Lloyd Garrison,
of Brooklyn.



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PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

DURING the anniversary week in this city the committee of arrangements of the American Anti-Slavery Society received a letter from Joshua Coffin of Philadelphia, stating that a colored man was in that city by the name of Thomas C. Brown, who had recently returned from Liberia, and suggesting the propriety of his being invited to New-York to give his public testimony as to the actual state of the colony. The idea arose from a conversation held on the subject with Rev. R. R. Gurley. The committee, in reply, wrote that if Mr. Brown had respectable testimonials, and was inclined to come here, on his expenses being paid, arrangements would be made for a public examination. He accordingly came.

The committee, appointed to conduct the examination, engaged Chatham street Chapel, and by public advertisement invited the citizens to attend the examination on Friday afternoon, May 9th.* Two of the committee conversed with Mr. Brown at length, and received from him a general account of his expedition to Africa. Afterwards they prepared a set of interrogatories to be proposed to him the next day at the public meeting. They proposed to read them to him previously, but he declined hearing them, saying he thought it would be better that he should not know the questions that were to be asked until he presented himself before the meeting. The questions therefore were not read to Mr. Brown, nor did he know any thing of them until they were proposed to him in public.

The answers were taken down by Rev. Joshua Leavitt, and are given in the precise words of Mr. Brown, so far as it was in the power of the reporter to record them.

During the examination various questions were proposed in writing by persons in the meeting. Those questions, with the replies, are included in the testimony now presented to the public.† Dr. Reese, and others, were allowed to cross-examine Mr. Brown, and his replies to their questions are carefully inserted with the other proceedings.

*Among the numerous misrepresentations that have been spread abroad, respecting the examination of Mr. Brown, is this—It has been stated that the Chapel was engaged Friday afternoon for a meeting with reference to the religious state of France, and that those interested in calling that meeting were prevented holding it by the trustees of the Chapel, who gave the preference to the Anti-Slavery Society. It is true that a meeting for that object was notified on Thursday evening by some individuals unknown to the trustees of the Chapel, or the committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society; but the Chapel had been previously engaged for the examination of Mr. Brown.

†Owing to the disturbance in the meetings it was impossible for the committee to propose all the questions that were sent up to the chairman. It was their wish and endeavor to propose all that were proper to be read before the audience, and it was a disappointment to them that any such were necessarily omitted. Several questions were of such a nature that a committee of colonizationists, however, to whom they were referred, decided that they were not proper to be publicly proposed.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The public in the city, and elsewhere, will now be able to judge respecting the proceedings that have gained such wide-spread publicity, and which have been so greatly misrepresented by the opponents of the American Anti-Slavery Society. They will perceive that the object was to elicit truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. They will also properly estimate the motives of those who disturbed the meetings, and of those who, orally or in the newspapers, have endeavored to mislead the public as to the object and result of the examination.

Mr. Brown's character, it will be seen from the evidence, remains unimpeached.* Few men could have appeared before the public more creditably to himself, than did this respectable and worthy individual. As a man of intelligence, probity, and Christian forbearance, he gained many friends.

After perusing the examination of this witness, readers will pronounce their condemnation upon the conduct of those who have denounced him because he spoke unwelcome truths. They will perceive also, from his excellent replies to questions proposed by his opponents, what justice there was in the reiterated insinuations that his answers to the interrogatories of the committee had been collusively prepared. It will also be for Dr. Reese and one of the editors of the Commercial Advertiser,† (who are of the Methodist connection,) to consider the propriety of their denouncing one of their brethren, having the certificate of Rev. Dr. Capers that he had been *proved to be a worthy man, and faithful brother, when in his mouth was found no guile.*

The result of this examination has been auspicious to the Anti-Slavery cause. Candid men have had their eyes opened by the scenes of violence that took place, the misrepresentations that have been made, the Christian spirit with which such assaults have been met, and especially by the facts elicited. Mr. Brown's testimony, in many important particulars, is corroborated by the letter recently received by the Colonization Society from Rev. J. B. Pinney, their temporary Colonial Agent at Liberia. Such facts will open the eyes of the community. Violent opposition will hasten it. Let "light and love" be our motto. Truth is great and it will prevail.

* It has been reported, to Mr. Brown's disadvantage, that after agreeing to submit to an examination before the Colonization Society, he declined attending the meeting. The truth is, the violence and outrage which occurred after he had consented to attend that meeting, induced him to fear personal violence might be offered to him, and his friends advised him to leave the city. But a note was sent to the meeting, with a request that it might be read, stating that Mr. Brown would be advised to attend an examination by a committee of three persons from the Colonization Society, and the same number from the American Anti-Slavery Society, provided the members of both committees would sign the examination and publish it. The letter was not read in public, nor has the proposition been accepted!

† *Extracts from this newspaper:*

"In the course of which (the examination) the witness was convicted from his own mouth of gross misrepresentations, concealment of the truth, and palpable prevarication."

"His evasions and falsehoods were such as to disgust the moral sense of every man who sought the light of truth"!!

QUESTIONS

ADDRESSED TO MR. THOMAS C. BROWN, MAY 9, 1834,

BY A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At the opening of the meeting, Rev. JOHN FROST, of Whitesborough, N. Y. was appointed Chairman, and Professor E. WRIGHT, Jr. Secretary. A member of the Examining Committee commenced the examination, as follows, varying the questions that had been prepared, and adding others, according to circumstances.

Mr. Brown, will you state to this audience your former place of residence, occupation, and situation in respect to property and the means of support?

I was born in Charleston, S. C., where I have resided. I am a carpenter by trade—owned two houses, two stories high, and two lots, which cost me over \$3000.

Are you an American or an African?

I think I am an American. I can trace my ancestors for four generations in South Carolina.

In going to Africa, did you regard yourself as going home to your native land?

By no means.

What induced you to leave America, and go to Africa?

To better my condition.

Did you go of your own accord?

I did.

Did you ever know individuals that went contrary to their wishes?

My partner went contrary to her wishes, I am sorry to say.

In disposing of your property, in order to go, were you obliged to make a sacrifice upon it? and if so, how great?

I sold property that was worth \$3000 for \$1850.

Is it a common thing for colonists, who have property, to make sacrifices on it, in a similar way?

Those who have property are always obliged to sacrifice it.

Before embarking for Liberia, had you any testimonials of character, &c. ? and if so, will you present them to this audience?

Mr. Brown delivered his testimonials to the Secretary, who read them to the meeting, as follows:

It is stated, at the request of Thomas Brown, for the information of such as may be interested, that he has been for a number of years a master workman in this place, has been the undertaker of large jobs of work upon his

own responsibility, and has, I believe, in every instance, given satisfaction, and sustained his character as an intelligent workman, an upright and honest man. My own dealings with him have been extensive, and his credit was permitted frequently to obtain for him at the mill \$1000. In all these transactions his conduct has been correct, and from a personal knowledge I would recommend him as an industrious, intelligent and enterprising workman, and as a moral, peaceable and good citizen.

W. J. BENNETT.

Charleston, S. C., Oct. 24, 1832.

Having employed Mr. Thomas Brown frequently as a master workman, we with pleasure concur with Mr. Bennett in his recommendation.

THOMAS FLEMMING.

R. F. HENRY.

WM. TIMMONS.

A. G. WALTON.

ROBERT EAGAR.

The bearer, Thomas Cilavan Brown, a colored man, about thirty-two years of age, is on his way to New-York. This is to certify, that I have been acquainted with him, and with his parents and family, for many years, and know him to be a freeman, and do further certify, that he has always borne a good character, being a sober, industrious, honest man, and a carpenter by trade, and all good men are respectfully requested to treat him well, and assist him on his way by giving him employ, &c.

SAMUEL MAVERICK.

Pendleton, S. C., July 24, 1832.

Thomas C. Brown, the bearer, has been for several years an acceptable member, and for a shorter time past a class-leader, in the Methodist Episcopal Church in this city. Leaving us to join the colony at Liberia, we affectionately and confidently recommend him to the grace of God, and the fellowship of our brethren, and all who love our Lord Jesus Christ. We have proved him to be a worthy man, and a faithful brother.

(Signed)

W. CAPERS,

Minister in charge of the M. E. Church,
Charleston, S. C.

Charleston, S. C., Sept. 30, 1832.

The committee then inquired if any gentleman present was acquainted with any of these individuals.

The venerable Wm. Turpin, Esq. who is well known in this city, rose, and said he was acquainted with several of them, and could say, "they are very good men."

Mr. L. Tappan said one gentleman who signed the certificate was well known to him, and he presumed to many in the audience, as a gentleman of great respectability. He alluded to Thomas Flemming, Esq.*

Dr. Reese, being present, was requested to examine the certificate signed by Rev. Dr. Capers, and state whether it was genuine, &c. Dr. R. came forward, examined the certificate, and stated that it was

* Since the public examination, one of the committee has met Mr. Flemming, who states that he knew T. C. Brown well; that he was a capable, honest, and worthy man, whom he had employed a good deal; but he did not sign the certificate that has his name affixed to it. He supposes his brother-in-law, A. G. Walton, one of the signers, affixed his name to it in his absence from Charleston at the time. Mr. Brown says Mr. Walton was so kind as to write the certificate, and take it to the other gentlemen to be signed; and that he did not know that Mr. Flemming was absent when his name was affixed to it, but supposed he signed it himself.

in the hand-writing of Dr. Capers, who was on the Charleston station at the date of it, and was a worthy minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The committee resumed the examination :

Did you go to Liberia at your own expense ?

I went partly at my own expense.

What was the price of the passage ?

We were three families, and fourteen persons. We agreed to furnish our provisions, and pay \$300 if they would take some lumber.

How long did you remain in the colony ?

Fourteen months.

Did you purchase any property in the colony, and what was it ?

I purchased a lot with Mr. Johnson, near the water; one behind Daily & Russwurm; another half lot in Green street; and one opposite to J. Lewis's.

Do you still own that property, and why ?

I still own the lots on Green street, because I was unable to find a purchaser. I could get no bid offered for the lots over ten dollars, for what originally cost seventy-five dollars.

Is property generally depreciated ?

Property is very much depreciating. Land can hardly be sold at any price.

What views of the state of things in the colony had you, before going thither, and with what expectations did you go ?

I expected to see a fertile country, and honest, upright and enterprising men, with whom I could unite in getting a living, and bring up my family as I wished. My expectations had been raised by the Colonization Society.

Were your expectations realized ?

They were not.

Is it a common thing for colonists to be thus disappointed ?

It is a common thing for them to be disappointed.

On your arrival, how were you received, and why ?

Was very kindly received by the settlers. Was introduced to the first families. It was well known we had property, and we afterwards found this was the reason of our being so well received at first.

What friends accompanied you to Liberia ?

Many of the persons who accompanied me were formerly residents of Charleston. Twelve of them were from Georgia. My own family consisted of myself, my wife, three children, my mother, brother, and two sisters.

At what season of the year did you arrive ?

In January.



Do the colonists find any difficulty in sending letters to their friends in this country?

* I don't know of any difficulty. I never had any answers to my letters, that is from my friends. Mr. Gurley answered my letter to him.

What ship did you come back in?

Ship Jupiter. I arrived, April 13, 1834.

Where have you been since you got back?

Stopped in this city four days; then left for Philadelphia.

Have you talked with any of the agents of the Colonization Society since your return?

Have had interviews with some of them.

Has any thing been said to you to make you give a favorable account of the state of things in Liberia? Where? When? What? Who?

As I design to speak the truth I must answer the question. Attempts have been made to gull me into favorable ideas respecting Bassa Cove. A gentleman in Philadelphia asked me if I were opposed to colonizing in Africa. I told him I was opposed to it. He said "all my hopes rest in Bassa Cove, and if thee will hold out favorable ideas respecting Bassa Cove, I will help thee get business."

What is the name of this gentlemen?

Elliot Cresson.

Were you at Liberia when the ship *La Fayette* arrived?

I was.

Where did she sail from? When?

She sailed from Baltimore, December 9, 1832.

When did she arrive at Liberia?

January 19, 1833.

How many emigrants on board?

Not able to tell.

Was there one J. W. Prout among them?

Yes.

What office did he hold?

Have seen it stated that he was an Agent in the vessel. Had then no acquaintance with him.

[Here some one demanded of the witness if he had not seen the questions the committee were proposing to him. Mr. Brown asserted that he had not. The chairman then stated that any person present might interrogate the witness provided the question should be reduced to writing, and the writer's name be affixed to it. If the question was not deemed by him to be an improper one it would be handed over to the committee to be proposed.]

Was there any difficulty between the emigrants and him? What was it?

He was the Agent and Superintendent of the stores given by the *Maryland Board*, to see that they were well provided for. After the emigrants arrived, I saw Capt. Hardy passing my door in a great

rage. I was led to inquire the cause. Was told the emigrants had made complaints respecting provisions and stores that were denied them. They complained that hospital stores, reserved for time of sickness, after they had reached the Colony were denied them; that is as they say. I afterwards heard that they had written to the Managers of the Maryland Society, with a statement from Capt. Hardy. The parent institution wrote to inquire the true state of the case; but I have no personal knowledge of this.

Did many of these emigrants die?

Can't say.

Did they complain of their food any? What did they say?

* They stated that they had stinking fish, and rotten meat. When Capt. Hardy asked Gov. Mechlin why he gave such provisions, he answered that it was necessary to use the stale provisions first.

Did they ever do any thing about it? What?

There was a committee of investigation, who made a report and gave it to Gov. Mechlin to send to the Colonization Society.

Questions by one of the audience.

Have you not been induced by the friends of abolition to make this statement?

I have not. The object of this examination, I say in the presence of Almighty God, is to give a fair statement, and not to deceive the people.

Have you not an interest in giving an unfavorable account of the colony?

It is against my interest to make these statements. If the Colony falls, what property I have there will fall.

Examination resumed by the Committee.

Did that [the above difficulty] have any thing to do with Gov. Mechlin's return?

I do not know that the Report had anything to do with his return.

What is the general state of morals in Liberia?

The morals are not as we would wish to have them.

Is there any intemperance among the colonists?

Some degree; not to any considerable extent.

Is it a common practice to drink ardent spirit?

Very common to drink ardent spirit.

Is it thought to be necessary to drink it? Why?

Yes; water is bad, and very scarce too.

What is doing to promote temperance?

Don't know of any thing doing to promote temperance.

Are any of the ministers temperance, or total abstinence, men?

Don't know of any of the ministers who are total abstinence men.

[See p. 20 for Dr. Reese's and others' cross-examination of Mr. Brown.]

Is there any licentiousness in the colony?

Some degree of licentiousness as in other places.

How many white men lived in the colony?

There are now six.

Are they all connected with the government?

Two are connected with the government, Gov. Pinney and Dr. Todsen.

How many were there a year ago?

One—Gov. Mechlin.

Have there been any *mulatto children* born there?

There have certainly been mulatto children born there.

Who are their reputed fathers?

[Before this question was answered several persons on the lower floor exclaimed, "Shame! shame!" Others in the galleries caught the expressions and re-echoed them, with the usual accompaniments of hissing, whistling, &c. It was evident that many persons who were opposed to the Anti-Slavery Society went to the meeting on purpose to make a disturbance. Individuals were heard to use threatening expressions as they went into the Chapel.

In the midst of the uproar HUGH MAXWELL, Esq. rose and addressed the disorderly part of the audience. He said in order that truth may be told it may be necessary that the questions should involve some degree of indelicacy. But the object we all aim at is truth, and by proper patience we shall get out the truth. Let us wait for the committee to ask their questions and then I will request the gentlemen to permit me to cross-examine the witness. I perceive that some of the gentlemen are known to me, and they are persons I respect, and whose motives I believe to be good.

The chairman of the committee remarked that the committee had no objection whatever to Mr. Maxwell's cross-examining Mr. Brown. So far from it, they desired it; and they would state further, that if Mr. Maxwell would take a seat with the committee, they would pledge themselves not to ask a question that gentleman did not sanction. Mr. Maxwell declined this overture. The audience became somewhat composed, and the committee proceeded in the examination.]

Have there been any mulatto children born there?

There has been one mulatto child born there.

Who is its reputed father?

I am not prepared to say.

Have any of the colonists married natives, and adopted the native dress and customs? Who?

Two individuals have married native wives. Mr. Curtis and Brazil Gray have adopted native customs.

Do party politics run high in Liberia?

Party politics do run high.

What is the ground of difference ?

Personal partialities are the ground of it.

Is the government of the colony efficient ?

It is so for people in their present state. They are governed pretty much according to the views of the judge.

Who make the laws and choose the officers ?

The laws are proposed by the colonists for approval by the Society.

Has the Governor the power to veto any officer chosen by the colonists ?

He has power to veto any officer chosen by the Colonists.

How do the colonists feel towards the Colonization Society ?

Some of the Colonists have unfavorable feelings toward the Colonization Society, and some have not. Some say the Society is burdening them with dead weights, with ignorant people and poor, who get sick and are a burden to the community.

What did Messrs. Williams and Roberts come here for last year ?

I do not know.

Would the colonists be glad to throw off the control of the society ?

Some wish to throw off the control of the Society.

What hinders their doing it ?

They are feeble. Bound to respect the governor.

What is the Court House built of ? How large is it ?

It is built of wood. It is about twenty by thirty feet.

How many stories high, and its condition ?

It is only one story high—very old—wants repairs.

Are there any saw mills in Liberia ?

There are no saw-mills in Liberia.

What sort of buildings are the factories* of which the Colonization Society speak ?

There are no factories within the settlement. I was told they were not allowed by law.

How extensively have the natives put themselves under the protection of the colonists ?

I do not know of any natives who have put themselves under the protection of the colonists.

How large are the schooners at Liberia ?

The largest is the government schooner of 50 to 60 tons. Daily and Russwurm's is about 45, Teage's is about 20, Cheesman's is about the same, and the others are only long boats.

Are the colonists much in debt ?

They are.

* Warehouses or stores are meant.

How do the government pay those they employ ?

They pay in goods when they have them in the store. When short of goods they pay in acceptances.

Will the government receive its own acceptances in payment for duties ?

They refused to receive acceptances of me in payment for duties.

Do you know one James Temple there ?

I know him.

Were you acquainted with Francis Devany, Esq., who testified before a committee of Congress that he was worth \$20,000 ?

I was acquainted with Mr. Devany, and knew he was not worth a quarter of that sum when he died.

Have you any proof that he was not, at the time he testified before Congress, worth \$20,000 ?

I was told by a respectable gentleman, one of the best officers of the colony not attached to the government, that he asked Mr. Devany how he could answer so when he knew better. He replied, he believed that the friendship of merchants, and his knowledge of business, were worth \$15,000, and he had property worth \$5,000.

What account had you of Liberia before you went out ?

I had my information from Mr. Devany. His testimony at Washington was the first I had seen. I wrote to him and he answered favorably. He said I could not carry on business so extensively as I did in Charleston, but there was plenty of it, and plenty of bread, and a man need not want.

What is the state of agriculture in the colony ?

All the emigrants in the upper settlements are engaged in agriculture.

What are the feelings of the colonists in respect to slavery ?

I know that some in the colony are disposed to hold slaves. I heard one individual say that the colony would never become any thing, that they could never amass wealth without them.

In answer to other questions put to Mr. Brown by different persons he replied :

That all the emigrants in the upper settlement are engaged in some way in agriculture.

That they must trade, they get nothing without barter, and to trade, must get goods to trade with.

That they raise produce and exchange it for goods.

That Cassada is the principal staple in the colony.

That the farms are small.

That they do not raise enough to supply their own wants, but get great proportion from America.

That the soil is not very rich.

That there are ploughs in the colony, but none use, as they have no animals to draw them.

That he conversed with some who say the ground will not produce well, but he never tried it.

That they have but few horses in the colony, and few cattle are brought down by the Mandingoes.

That the worms destroy many plants.

That there is no man rich here; some live, and the rest make out to stay in the world.

That some are so deprived of their stay as to be induced to beg.

That on his arrival several vessels had unusually supplied the colony with provisions, but since that time they had frequently been very scarce.

That no gentleman in New-York had ever promised him compensation.

That goods and provisions were very high; that they were fifty per cent above the retail price in this country.

That pork was twenty cents a pound.

That there is very seldom any coffee in the village, and he has given forty cents a pound for it.

[The committee now postponed their interrogatories to allow Mr. Brown to answer written questions proposed by various persons in the assembly.]

Questions by Rev. R. R. Gurley.

Was it not professedly a great object with you for going to Liberia to do good to Africa?

I mentioned that my sole object was to get rid of the oppressive laws of South Carolina. I thought that as I was going I could exert a moral influence over those within my reach. Did not go as a missionary. I was a class leader, and it was my intention to do all the good I could.

Did you not understand, when your lumber was left through the overloading of the ship by the emigrants from Charleston, did you not understand that the lumber was to be sent you, and do you not know that the Colonization Society have only been waiting for an opportunity to send?

There is no doubt of it; I did not mean to be understood to say any thing to the contrary. There have been promises to send it, and I suppose that if convenient it would be, but mean time I am the sufferer.

Did you not say to a gentleman here that you were uncertain what you should do about returning to Africa?

I may have said it, but I have property there, and also a mother and sister whom I was not able to bring back with me. It was my intention to come on before them and try to provide a situation for them.

Do you not know that several men of color have visited this country from Liberia at their own expense, and that they have returned again to the colony?

I do know that several colored men have come to America, and returned. Their motives I know not.

During the sickness of your company was not the physicians absent on account of ill health?

During the former part of our sickness the physicians were present. Dr. Tilden left soon, and Dr. Holt remained longer.

Question by Prof. Wright. How many acres of land are under cultivation?

I am not prepared to answer.

Question by Mr. Gurley. Has the agent ever put a veto on any officer elected by the people?

I know not of any. The acting agent decided his own way, notwithstanding his counsellors did not agree.

Question by Thos. N. Ayres. How many of the colonists have you heard express a desire to throw off the government of the Society?

I cannot say it is the hearty desire of the people. Many have conversed with me, and they say, we are a timid and feeble nation, and we wish to put ourselves under a people who care more for us.

Question by C. Kellogg. What is the cause for the great mortality existing?

I don't know, but I suppose it is a vertical sun, a dense atmosphere, and being surrounded by mangrove swamps.

Question by Henry ———. Were there any difficulties between you and the governor, or any of the officers of the government of Liberia anterior to the time when you left it?

There was no difficulty between me and the officers of the government; I had some government acceptances, and they would not receive them.

Question by Z. C. Congdon. How far is the Grand Bassa settlement from Liberia, and is the former less healthy than the latter?

Don't know exactly the distance from Munrovia. It is generally thought to be more healthy, but some have returned to Munrovia for health.

Is the colony of Liberia less healthy than the rice lands of South Carolina, or the low lands of the Mississippi?

I should not say they were more unhealthy to a stranger than rice lands, for that is certain death to a stranger.

Question by Mr. Gurley. Should you think the present agent of the colony a man of integrity, and do you think he would make an honest and fair report?

I believe that unless an agent goes among the lowest class, and finds out their distress, he cannot make a fair report.

Question by D. Ruggles. What business does Rev. Mr. Caesar follow?

He is a surveyor.

Question by T. Allen. What inducements were held out to you to come from Philadelphia to answer the questions? Who pays your expenses?

The inducements that brought me from Philadelphia were to tell the truth. I received a letter, stating that it would be satisfactory to have me come here and tell the truth. It was, I think, signed by the

Rev. Mr. Phelps, and was directed to Mr. James Forten. [Mr. Phelps here stated, that he wrote the letter, and it authorized Mr. Forten to tell Mr. Brown his expenses would be paid.]

Question by N. H. Dering. Have any colonists grown rich at Liberia; and to what extent; and in what business; and how many are rich?

An individual cannot know the wealth of another. One who has been said to be worth \$70,000 told me he would not have bread for his children when his debts were paid. Several others are much in debt, and they say they have not the means of paying.

Question by P. A. Bell. Mr. Brown has stated they paid \$300 for their passages, provided lumber was carried out with them. Said lumber was not taken. Was any of the money returned to said Brown & Co.?

I have not received any money back, but I have confidence in the gentlemen with whom I conversed, and who assured me it should be paid.

Question by W. A. Welles. Have you not been induced by the friends of Abolition to give an unfavorable impression as to the settlement in Liberia?

I have not received any inducements from them. If any offer should be made, I should answer as I did the man who wanted to gull me to give an opinion the other side.

Question by W. A. Welles. Do you not know many who beg, who might gain a livelihood if they would be industrious? And do you not know some who are too lazy to work?

I know one who is too lazy to earn a living, but when I reflect on the paralyzing influence of the fever, I am prepared to make many allowances.

Question by ———. What proportion of the emigrants that went out with you were old or infirm?

Don't know that any were in a declining state of health. They were all healthy.

Question by Prof. Wright. Is the Colonization Society in debt to you?

They are, and I believe they will pay me.

Question by P. D. Myers. Why was not your lumber taken out, when you had paid for it?

The vessel was incapable of taking it. If the ballast had been taken out, the lumber might have gone.

Did Elliot Cresson hold out any inducements to you to deviate from the truth?

He wished me to give favorable ideas respecting Bassa Cove. I had told him before, I was opposed to colonizing in Africa. He said he did not intend, and probably he did not, to decoy me from the truth.

Question by J. C. Culler. Did you know, previous to this examination, what questions would be proposed to you, or of what nature?

I did not know what questions would be proposed. I would not object if all the individuals here were to ask me a question apiece. I would stick to the truth.

Question by A. B. Baylies. Are those poor who become sick supported by the colonists, or by the Society?

Many are supported on the bounty of the Society, but the Committee of Health are very negligent.

Question by D. E. Bartlett. Did you, or any other man acquainted at all with history, ever hear of an infant colony which was not, to a considerable degree, subject to some or all of the evils which are experienced by the colony of Liberia?

Whether other colonies suffer as much or more was not an inquiry with me; but finding myself becoming sick, and probably soon to become poor or dead, and my family in distress, I was induced to come back.

Question by Mr. Deren. Was it a very unhealthy year that you went out?

I could not compare it with years past.

Question by C. Kellogg. What was the cause for the great mortality existing there?

It was owing to the great quantity of strangers there that year.

Question by Carlos Smith. Whose name was signed to the handbills of which you spoke?

•The printer's.

Question by A. Vail. Did you ask permission to return? Did you give two days' notice before your return? Were you on good terms with the officers of the colony?

Did not give two days' notice.

Question by L. A. Sawyer. Did you know that the natives have not put themselves under the protection of the colony?

I knew that the colonists do not consider the natives under their protection.

Question by Dr. Reese. Are not Rev. Messrs. Spalding and Wright total abstinence men? Did not they form a Temperance Society before you left, including all the colored ministers of the Methodist Church?

There was a Temperance Society talked of, but I do not know whether one was formed.

Question by D. Hall. Were you at Liberia when Mr. Pinney arrived, and how was he received as their governor?

When Mr. Pinney arrived he was joyfully received.

Question by George R. Barker. Have you ever known Indian corn to be raised there? If so, how much to an acre?

Know of one case at Millsburgh, by Daniel George. Took out seed of flint corn. He told me he planted two acres, sold considerable in a green state, and told me he raised five bushels.

Question by P. Van Zandt. You stated that your wife went to Liberia contrary to her will, please to state how and what was the nature of the force, if any, and by whom?

Nothing forced her to go but tender regard to me.

Questions by J. W. Carrington, Jr. Did Mr. Brown obtain a passport before leaving Liberia?

I did not.

Question by — Are you not to receive a compensation from the Abolitionists' Society for stating what you have, and how much are you to receive?

No compensation has ever been offered me. I don't want any pay for telling the truth.

Question by A. Vail. Is not the land very productive when cultivated? Does it not yield spontaneously many productions?

I never cultivated any land. At Millsburgh yellowish always. Produces very well. Do not know of any variety of productions.

Question by Henry Gell. What did the lumber consist of?—alluding to the lumber Mr. Brown intended to take with him?

Lumber of house frames, three of them, with boards ready dressed.

Question by Dr. Weston of Mississippi. Are you acquainted with the African delegates sent by the Mississippi Colonization Society, and what was their character for truth and veracity?

I never knew them.

[The Committee here resumed their examination of Mr. Brown.]

Are many of the colonists engaged in trade?

Very unprofitably.

In what articles do they trade?

Camwood and Ivory.

Is RUM one of the principal articles of trade?

Can buy nothing without rum—Unless they give them something in lieu of it to purchase it.

Do slave ships, or slavers, trade with the colonists?

Ships trade with the colony—

[The examination was here interrupted by persons in different parts of the house, some exclaiming one thing and some another. It seemed to be their determination to put an end to the proceedings. A clergyman, understood to be Rev. Mr. Dunbar, rose in the midst of the uproar and addressed the rioters, saying, "I came here friendly to the Colonization Society, but I disapprove of this disorder, and consider it disgraceful, &c. &c." Finding it difficult to suppress the tumult, on motion, the meeting was adjourned to the following day.]

Saturday, May 10th.

The adjourned meeting was advertised in the various newspapers, and the public were requested to attend the meeting, and *listen to an examination of T. C. Brown, by a committee of the Anti-Slavery Society*. Notwithstanding this, the leading Colonization newspaper in the city called upon the opposers of the meeting to attend, and intimated to them the propriety of taking their own course with regard to the proceedings. The hint was not overlooked, as the sequel will show.

The Rev. J. Frost having requested to be excused from serving as chairman, the Rev. SAMUEL H. COX was appointed chairman of the meeting. By request of the chair, the meeting was opened with an address to the throne of grace by Rev. HENRY G. LUDLOW.

It was then distinctly stated, that the committee had arranged the remaining interrogatories under the heads of TRADE, EDUCATION, and RELIGION; that any persons present were at liberty this day, as on yesterday, to propose any questions in writing; with their names attached, and these questions, if not deemed improper by the chairman, would be handed to the committee, to propose to Mr. Brown while the subject to which they related was under consideration; and that any gentleman who might appear on behalf of the Colonization Society would be at liberty to cross-examine the witness.

Violent opposition was made to this course of proceedings, and a portion of the audience insisted that a cross-examination should first take place. Dr. Reese rose and stated, that many of his friends were afflicted and grieved at some of the replies that were made the day previous, and he desired leave to put a few questions to Mr. Brown. After consulting with the committee, the chairman gave notice that the committee were disposed to wait, to give an opportunity to any gentleman who represented the Colonization Society to put questions to Mr. Brown, and asked how long a time was required. Answers were given by several voices, "thirty minutes." The chairman then said Dr. Reese could occupy half an hour.

Mr. Brown made a short address, saying his object was not to stir up strife or create dissension. He came here only to tell the truth. What he did not know he had declined answering.

Dr. Reese said he proceeded in this matter as an individual, without any concert with the society. He felt a deep interest in the subject, from his connection with the Missionary Board, who were promoting missions through the colony. He had no other object in view, and he hoped the audience would refrain from expressions of disapprobation or approbation. He then commenced his cross-examination.

Did I understand you to say there was no Temperance Society at Liheria?

I did not say there was no Temperance Society, but that there was none to my knowledge.

Did you not say there were no ministers there who did not use ardent spirit?

I made exception of the missionaries. I meant there was no preachers of the colony. I did not mean to impeach the missionaries. I do not know any colored preachers who abstain.

Dr. Reese here remarked, he had official documents to show that twelve preachers of the Missionary Society were members of the Conference Temperance Society.*

In answer to questions put to Mr. Brown by Dr. Reese, Mr. Wilder, and others, he stated, that he believed there were six schools in the place; when he first arrived there were Sabbath schools; but they declined on the death of Mr. Cox, the missionary. After the other missionaries came, they were revived again.

That he knew of two churches now building, he might say three; one of them has been a long time on hand—they are Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist.

That the recaptured Africans were better off than many colonists who have gone from this country.

That it is not his opinion, nor the opinion of the colonists, that the upper country is healthy.

That Millsburgh is less sickly than Caldwell, but both are sickly enough.

That savage men reside at the Cape.

That he knew a man who went to Millsburgh, and was soon numbered with the dead.

That the natives who come down to the coast are not affected as the settlers are.

That he was in partnership with Johnson & Ward, but not with Mr. Doughty.

That he has no concern in that country at present.

That he has a sincere desire the colony should prosper. If it did not, many persons would be reduced to poverty and distress; and he would be destitute of humane feelings if he did not feel for them.

That his wife went out from regard to him.

That he had no other reasons than those before given for leaving.

That he brought no certificate from the church with him, because there was no episcopacy; Rev. Mr. Cox soon died; the missionaries arrived, and they were soon sick. He intended to behave upright, and evince to the world that he had preserved his character. He did not think of obtaining a certificate at the moment he was coming away.

That he did not know of any case where natives desire schools except what Mr. Wilson told him of Cape Mount. Never heard that King Boatswain desired them.

That his wife is not daughter of King Boatswain.

That he really believes if the missionaries can be taught the diversified languages there they can do good. The natives, fifteen to twenty miles apart, do not understand each other.

That he has always expressed a desire that missionaries and other teachers should go.

That he did not officiate as a class leader. Went as a member of the church only. They had no episcopacy. Were never put in clas-

* This Conference Temperance Society was formed at a meeting of the preachers, by themselves, under the direction of the missionaries, shortly before the Jupiter sailed from Liberia, and it is not strange, therefore, that Mr. Brown should have been unacquainted with it.

ses, owing to their being constantly sick. Never was four days out of bed with fever and ague.

That he has been as far as Millsburgh, said to be twenty or twenty-five miles distant, and also some distance on the coast.

That he removed from his own country on account of oppressive laws. They never affected him, but he saw how they affected others, and he had a growing family and wished to place them where he could bring them up according to his wishes.

That he had \$2,400 before he left.

That the colony is not in a flourishing condition.

That a man going there cannot make a comfortable living.

Questions by William H. Wilder.

Is not the situation of the blacks at the colony of Liberia much better than the blacks in this city or Philadelphia?

They are not as well off, nor are they surrounded with so many comforts of life. Many came to me to beg and others wish they were back.

Does not the Colonization Society furnish funds?

As far as I know the colonists have rations as promised. I never drew them. They give them out as far as they think them necessary.

Do you not consider the Colonization Society useful?

I decline answering the question. I came here to tell what I have seen in Liberia.

Questions by one of the audience.

Do you think your statements will injure the Colonization Society?

I have no premeditated design to injure it; I wish to tell the truth?

Did you ever visit what is called the Five Points?

[The audience prevented an answer being given to this question.]

Do you think immediate emancipation would promote good morals?

I decline answering such a question.

[Here there arose a great excitement. In reply to a friend who desired him to keep cool, Mr. Brown said:]

I am not in the least agitated, but shall never move from the truth.

Questions by Dr. Reese.

How many churches are there?

Three at Montrovia which are open for service. At Caldwell, Millsburgh, and New Georgia, one each.

How many conversions have taken place from the natives?

I know of one supposed conversion among the natives. He belongs to the Baptist church. Is said to be converted but those acquainted do not think so. Many recaptured Africans belong to the church.

Mr. Brown here remarked, I am glad the gentleman (Dr. Reese) interrogated me respecting the missionaries. Would not impeach

their characters for all the world. They are as dear to me as to that gentleman.

Thomas Bell, of New-York, the commercial agent of the Colonization Society, wished to read extracts from some letters in his possession for the purpose of impeaching the character of the witness. They were addressed to him in the course of business. Leave was given. The friends of Mr. Brown demanded that the whole of the letters should be read. It was objected to this that part of the contents was of a private nature. The chairman decided that Mr. Bell might read such extracts as were pertinent to the case.

The extract first read was of a letter from Thomas S. Grimke, Esq. to Thomas Bell, dated Charleston, S. C. 1st June, 1833. The part read certified the respectable character of Mr. Doughty,* of Charleston, the father of Mrs. Ward, now a widow in Liberia. It states respecting her husband, "Ward, as I gathered, was among our most respectable colored people, but not of much property."

The extract next read was of a letter from Wm. C. Doughty to the same Thomas Bell, dated Charleston, 3d Jan. 1834. It states that Mr. Ward died at Liberia of the prevailing fever, 8th August, 1833, leaving his widow, her children, and her sister, in great distress; that a young man named Simpson, who had lived with Mr. Ward, had written that the copartnership between Ward, Johnson & Brown, was dissolved by the former in consequence of the two latter cheating him in the most scandalous manner. Simpson [S] but for his character no testimonial was given] remarked, he has no doubt but this helped to hurry him out of the world.

Mr. Brown, after the extracts were read, said he wished simply to state that whoever asserted he defrauded Mr. Ward misrepresented him. I hold now in my possession notes of Ward, taken in Charleston.† We loaned Ward money to go to Liberia. He acknowledged this in the presence of Mr. Grimke. He had no concern in the lumber, but we told him he might frame his house out of the timber and pay when he could; but if he died and his widow should be unable to pay for it I would never ask her. Mr. Brown stated he never knew such a man as Simpson under the protection of Mr. Ward.‡

* It is said this Mr. Doughty is a white man and was never married. The mother of his children is, or was, his slave, whom with her husband, he purchased. The children whom he had by her are called Marshall.

† The original notes, of which the following are copies, are now in the possession of Mr. Brown.

Charleston, 29th October, 1832. Twelve months after date, I promise to pay Mr. Thomas C. Brown, or order, forty-two dollars, for value received.

(Signed)

PETER WARD.

Savannah River, December 7th, 1832. Twelve months after date, I promise to pay Thomas C. Brown, or order, twenty-six dollars and fifty-five cents, for value received.

(Signed)

PETER WARD.

‡ The Secretary of the meeting took possession of the letters, extracts of which had been read by Mr. Bell, and their entire contents showed plainly enough the reason why it was not deemed prudent to read the whole of them in the hearing of the meeting. They would have shown too clearly that the testimony of Mr. Brown was corroborated by the witness on the other side, both as to the motive of Mr. Brown's emigration to Liberia, and the miserable condition of the colony.

The suppressed part of Mr. Doughty's letter is as follows :

Question by Mr. Cleveland. Did not Mr. Doughty furnish Mr. Ward with a considerable amount in goods, and did he not sell them at a large profit?

We contributed to the stock \$1200, and Ward \$200; and we took his notes for the rest, which was unfair to ourselves. Do not know that he had a considerable amount from Mr. Doughty. When we dissolved we had not over \$15 in cash. The rest was in goods. Ward purchased a house of me, and a lot of some one else, which he sold afterwards to Doughty for \$600 to \$650. I loaned him money to assist in the outfit to Liberia—that he said in presence of Mr. Grimke himself. I wish any gentleman would write to Mr. Grimke, and satisfy himself.

The committee now, about one hour after the commencement of the meeting, resumed their examination of Mr. Brown. And first, respecting the

TRADE OF THE COLONY.

Are there large numbers of the colonists engaged in trade?

There are.

What articles do they trade in?

The native produce is camwood, ivory, &c. The goods bartered for them, are cloths, iron pots, powder, guns, rum, beads, and balls. These are sold to the natives in exchange.

Is *Rum* one of the principal articles?

You cannot purchase of a native unless you give him what he wants, or something to get it with. And rum is what they most want.

Do slave ships, or slavers, trade with the colonists?

I do not know of absolute trade with slave ships. I have seen men said to be slavers, but I did not know.

Do natives come from a distance to trade?

Natives come from a hundred miles, and probably upwards.

What is a spear-pointed knife? and what is it used for?

I have never seen it in use, but it is used as a dirk to defend with.

"My unfortunate daughter (Mrs. Ward) requests my advice how to act. She says, as a lone woman she cannot get along in Liberia, for no money is to be made there but by trading, and that is entirely out of her province, and under these circumstances she expresses a strong wish to be reconveyed home, but says she will not come to Charleston again. She is right as to the last, FOR THE SAME TYRANNY AND OPPRESSION AWAITS HER HERE THAT DROVE THEM ALL TO AFRICA BEFORE. I think it highly probable, therefore, she will return to America as soon as she hears from me, and may settle in New-York. I have to beg you therefore, my dear sir, to write me whether with the help of \$— a year from me she and her sister can support themselves there with their *needles*, both being good hands with them. Mrs. Ward has *four children to maintain*. She is a very exemplary woman, sincerely pious, and her industry knows no bounds. Her sister is a fine young woman just growing up and can help her much. Pray write me particularly. I shall put into your care to ship to Liberia for them the first chance, a few bushels of our country peas and 12 pieces of bacon, with letters, and I pray your kind attention to me in this respect. Should these unfortunates come to New-York, will you be a friend to them? I am sure you will.

I am, dear sir, &c.

WM. C. DOUGHTY.

Are muskets, powder, &c. sold at high prices?

I have bought a United States musket for three dollars; and an English one for four dollars and fifty cents; hunting guns for four dollars.

Do the colonists cheat the natives? and how?

I will state how the trade is conducted, and leave it to you to judge if they can live without cheating. The time was when the produce was all brought to town. Camwood then sold for two bars a quintal. The colonists were anxious to get more and established factories. The majority of the produce now goes to the factories. A bar is generally thought worth twenty-five cents, and the price of camwood is now increased to twelve bars at the factories. The traders pay for fetching it down, and then get three dollars. If they did not gain in weight, how could they live?

Who are some of the principal merchants?

Mr. Waring, Daily & Russwurm, Teage, Cheeseman, and McGill.

Do you know Colston M. Waring? Is he a preacher?

I know Mr. Waring; he is a preacher.

Is he a dealer in Rum—and to what extent?

He is a commission merchant and sells all the cargoes he can get assigned to him, I suppose.

Who sells the most Rum in Africa?

I am not prepared to say who sells the most.

Have you ever seen natives drunk in Liberia?

I have.

Where did they get the liquor?

They do not distil liquor themselves—I suppose they must have got it in the colony.

What are those persons about who are not engaged in farming or trading?

There are a few mechanics, particularly masons.

What wages do day laborers get?

Day laborers get 50 cents a day.

Are there many farmers who employ laborers?

I know of no farmers who employ laborers or any body else, but their own families.

Are manufactures carried on to any extent?

Manufactures! There are no factories but them that purchase camwood.

Question by D. Van Doren. Is the Rum needed for trade obtained by means of the society? If so, whence is it obtained?

I do not know as it is obtained from the society, but suppose it is exported by merchants who wish to make money.

Questions by R. B. Hall.

Did you ever see any coffee trees growing in Liberia? And if so, did any of them belong to the Rev. C. M. Waring?

I have seen some belonging to Colston M. Waring. They were not bearing. He told me he thought there were 8,000. I should not think there were half so many; but I did not count. I have also seen about a dozen owned by D. Hilliard. They were bearing. I should say, I believe the country would produce coffee.

What is the price of butter?

I have frequently paid 40 cents for butter.

Are the relations between the colonists and the natives, at the present time, of a friendly nature?

There are friendly relations to some extent. I must answer as it exists. I should not say the truth, to say there are no friendly feelings; and if I should say it is absolutely friendly, that would not be the truth; so I must trim between the two.

Question by S. Brown, M. D. You stated yesterday that you supposed a vertical sun and a dense atmosphere to be among the causes of the unhealthiness of the climate of Liberia. Are there any marshes, swamps, or stagnant waters at, or in the vicinity of, the village; and might these be drained, and without any great expense?

There are marshes and swamps that I suppose might be drained. There are mangrove swamps and islands that are nearly covered at high water, and these could not be drained.

Question by one of the audience. Do you know of any of the colonists who are dissatisfied?

I know many are dissatisfied, and have reason to be.

Question by D. Dodd. How many confirmed drunkards are there in Liberia?

I should not like to state; I do not know exactly what any one would mean by "confirmed." I know three individuals whom I will call *practical* drunkards.

Question by one of the audience. Was that year more unhealthy than other years?

I am not prepared to say. The opinions were diversified. Some say they never knew it so unhealthy: others said they always died so when they first come.

Question by J. Coffin. Do you know of any person who has commenced learning the native language?

I have heard of one young man who has commenced learning the native language.

Question by D. E. Bartlett. Do you consider the chief object of the catechism to be to exhibit a fair and honest account of the colour of Liberia, or to prejudice the minds of this audience against the Colonization Society?

I came here to tell the truth. I believe there are members of the Colonization Society present, and believe some of them have reports which substantiate what I have said. [Here the witness appeared

much exhausted, and said he did not feel willing to be examined further; but on being encouraged to proceed a little longer, he said—[If the Colonization Society are really anxious to know the truth, notwithstanding I am tired, I will wait on them with pleasure.]

Question by A. B. Baylis. For what purpose was that certificate which Mr. Tappan read, from the Methodist chaplain, given to Mr. Brown? If to recommend him to the church in the colony, why was it not left as a testimony?

Of whom could it testify when I am here? They never exacted it of me to be left. I showed it to Mr. Williams, who was preacher in charge, and afterwards to missionary Cox.

Question by J. Coffin. How much money have you lost by removing to Liberia?

I cannot tell how much I have lost. I expect some that is out in the Colony, that I will get it. I had when I arrived here some drafts, some of which were paid the next day after I saw Mr. Gurley. That put me in possession of \$800.

Question by Charles Gould, 25 Wall-street. Did you, when a merchant in Munrovia, deal in ardent spirits?

I did deal in rum. I was carried along with the influence then in the Colony. No man can get provisions of the natives, except he have the article required.

Question by J. Lee. Had you succeeded well in business in Liberia, and made out as well as you expected, would you have returned to this country?

I should have returned if I found my health to be impaired, as I went to improve my condition.

Question by G. Smith. Did you trade in the same manner the colonists usually do?

I kept what is there termed a wholesale store. I traded only with dealers and factory men, except with a few natives who came to the town.

Question by Mr. Caze. Is rum carried into the settlement of Liberia by vessels sent out by the Colonization Society?

I don't know of any case; not to my knowledge.

Question by F. T. Peet. Could it have been ascertained by the colonists, if they chose so to do, whether or not those persons who were supposed to be slavers were really so?

It could.

Question by Geo. C. Schoeffler. Did Brown ever buy or sell any rum? What he means by a dense atmosphere, and how it is caused by a vertical sun, as he says?

What I mean by a dense atmosphere is the rain falling upon the earth, and the sun coming out directly creates fogs, which gives rise to fever.

Question by ———. Could the Colonization Society prevent the trade in rum if they should try?

I am not prepared to answer that question directly.

The committee now proceeded to examine Mr. Brown respecting the
RELIGION OF THE COLONY.

How many ministers of the gospel are there in Liberia?

I cannot correctly say; I suppose nearly about a dozen, including missionaries; three Presbyterian missionaries, and two Methodist missionaries, and about seven colored preachers belonging to the colony.

How many of them devote their whole time to the work of the ministry?

All the white missionaries, when they are in health: none of the colonists.

Are any of them engaged in trade? Which of them sells the most goods?

All the commission merchants are preachers, except one house, Daily & Russwurm. Daily & Russwurm, and Mr. Waring, have the most extensive warehouses.

Do these preachers sell ardent spirit, powder, muskets, &c.? And to what extent?

They are commission merchants, and sell whole cargoes as they are brought.

Is there any preacher who does *not* sell rum?

I am not sure.

Are muskets, powder, spear-pointed knives, and rum, sold to the natives who live back from the coast?

The natives who live far back do not generally require knives; some take guns, as I am told; the Mandingoes take mostly powder and tobacco.

Do you believe that the natives, who buy these articles, know that the sellers are preachers and professing Christians?

They know they are Christians; whether they know they are preachers, it is more than I can say.

Do the colonists often converse together about civilizing and christianizing the natives?

They do not converse together about it. I have heard it mentioned in public worship.

Do the colonists make the morals and religious improvement of the natives a subject of prayer?

It is utterly out of my power to tell if they pray much on the subject. It is sometimes mentioned in public worship.

Do the colonists pray much about the conversion of Africa to God? And do those who are professing Christians act as if they considered themselves missionaries among the heathen?

I cannot say they do.

Do the ministers engage much in the party politics of the Colony? Are there any disputes between the native kings, or others, and the colonists? And do these disputes leave on the minds of the natives a favorable impression respecting the religion of the colonists.

The ministers are the principal politicians in the Colony. There

has been a disturbance at Little Bassa, but I am not able to state the particulars. I believe it is repressed. On the question of a favorable influence, I am not prepared to answer.

Do the people generally attend church?

The people generally attend church.

Are the colonists much engaged in Sabbath schools?

They are not much engaged in Sabbath schools. There was a Sabbath school, but it got broke up, and on the arrival of the missionaries was revived. I have visited it, and believe it was attended by at least thirty children.

What is doing for the religious instruction of the natives in and near the Colony?

The recaptives have churches; of the others I know nothing, without perhaps the colonists may pray for them. I know they do not try to fetch them into the Christian faith.

Are any of the preachers qualifying themselves to teach, and preach to the natives, by learning their language?

Among the colonists I don't know of any, and I don't believe there are any.

Is it the usual practice of those preachers of the gospel who sell powder, rum, muskets, &c. to the natives to converse with them, in their shops, or elsewhere, about their souls, the education of their children, or religion generally?

There are none but the Kroomen on the coast can understand our language. With the rest trade is carried on by signs: they point to the article, &c.

It is stated in the African Repository for April, 1834, (p. 57,) that a quire of paper is at the present moment of more value than a bible; that bibles and tracts have been sent here, (Liberia,) and either used as waste paper or made food for worms.—1. Do you personally know this fact? 2. And can you give any reason for it?

I have visited the library, and have seen many bibles and tracts lying there. It is owing principally to the ignorance of the settlers. Very few of them can read a word. It is known that a majority cannot.

Would a stranger visiting Liberia, and who had no other information than the general appearance, condition, and employment of the colonists, be apt to think it was a missionary establishment.

If he were there on the Sabbath, he might think it so. When visiting the houses of the merchants, which is the general walk of foreigners, he would be very likely to form a favorable opinion of the Colony.

Are any of the natives employed in the families of the preachers or other colonists, as servants?

I don't know of any natives employed by the missionaries.

Do the natives call the colonists white men, as a term of distinction?

They do.

Do the colonists ~~think~~ ^{value} much above the natives as the whites do ~~have~~ ^{value} above the colored people? Or do they associate together on terms of equality?

Kings, coming to that place, and chief men, are taken into their houses. The lower order are not. They are employed as servants for the purpose of toting burdens, as there are no animals there, or very few.

Is any more pains taken to educate and improve the natives than is made here by the white population generally to elevate the colored?

There is not.

Have many natives become professors of religion?

I have known of one conversion. Another little girl has been brought up by Hillary Teage, and I suppose she will adopt the Christian custom. I have been told by Mr Waring and others that some portion of the Mandingoes have adopted the Christian mode.

Is their much intimacy and friendship between the families of the colonists?

The circles of acquaintances are limited.

Now tell us the actual influence of the colony at Liberia upon the native Africans?

It has little or no effect. I know Mandingoes who are sober and temperate, professing the Mohammedan religion. Among those who have adopted the Christian mode intoxication is frequent. I was told by C. M. Waring that this is the first thing they adopt, in adopting the Christian mode.

[At this time Mr. Brown complained of being very much exhausted, and said I have still fevers and agues from the climate, and feel so much exhausted that I cannot promise to answer more than twenty questions.]

Question by one of the audience. Did you ever ~~pray~~ ^{pray} for the conversion of the nations of Africa, while at the same time you were dealing out ardent spirit for them, and making daily use of it yourself?

It was deemed necessary there to use ardent spirit to preserve our health. Whether it be so or not I know not. I do not believe any candid person, who will go there, will doubt it. As to praying for their conversion I have not only done it there but here, and at my own house.

Question, &c. Is C. M. Waring a lay preacher?

I believe he is, but I should like to know what is meant by a lay preacher. He has a regular charge and administers the ordinances.

Question, &c. How do you know the traders cheat the natives?

I have heard the traders say they got more than a quintal.*

Question, &c. Will you attend a meeting of the Colonization Society on Tuesday evening next to answer questions?

If nothing to prevent I will attend the meeting.

* This refers to his answer with regard to the method of doing business, page 25.

Question by A. B. Lambert. Was the \$300 paid for passage returned? If not, was any offset made, or what was done with the money?

They still owe me, but I expect it will be paid.

Question by Mr. Hall. Do you know, or did you ever hear, what is the cause of the war in Liberia, which took place while Mr. Ashman was agent?

I do not know.

Question by Wm. A. Welles, 72 Canal street. Did you not ever trade, either directly or indirectly in rum, while you a member of the church?

I did.

Question by A. Vail. Have you a desire that the colony should prosper?

I have an interest in the prosperity of the colony as I have property there and friends.

Question by W. Hall, Jr. Did any circumstance or circumstances occur in regard to yourself during your residence at the colony, tending to excite unpleasant personal feelings in your mind, and to sour your mind against its interests as a colony?

There was not any.

Question by Thomas Bell Do you know if the Colonization Society have sent any rum to the colony?

I do not know.

Question by Rev. J. Wilson. Query? In Brown's conversation with Mr. Cresson, did that gentleman hold out any promises to induce him to give false statements of the colony?

As I said, he wished me to speak well of Bassa Cove, and said he would help me about getting business, but in a conversation afterward he said he did not intend to influence my mind.

Question by W. B. Shepard. How many days did it take you to go to Cape Mount?

I sailed on Saturday morning and arrived on Sunday night in a sloop.

[The questions prepared by the committee were varied, and others added, during the examination, according to circumstances.]

The committee having proceeded thus far, amidst repeated interruptions, would have asked the witness the remaining questions sent up to the chair by different persons in the meeting, but the noise and disturbance increased to such a degree that it was impracticable. A person rose, addressed the chairman, and commenced reading a set of resolutions in favor of the Colonization Society. But as the business for which the meeting had been called was finished, it was moved and seconded that the meeting be dissolved. The question was put and carried; and the abolitionists retired, or remained as spectators.

Rev. R. R. Gurley was then appointed chairman, by the disturbers of the previous meeting, and addressed the multitude in an animated speech, styling them his "Christian brethren." As if to inflame the minds of his audience to a still higher degree of madness and folly, he represented the principles of the Anti-Slavery Societies

as tending to "dissolve the Union," "turn the slaves loose to cut the throats of their masters," &c. &c.: and finally, he declared with great emphasis, his determination, as the question of slavery and emancipation now stands, between the abolitionists of the north, and the slave holders of the south, to *go with the south*.

A colored man, named DAVIS, who was formerly in Liberia, was brought forward to state his views of Liberia. He was understood to give views of the colony, in some respects different from the statements of Mr. Brown. It is to be recollected that *Davis left Liberia upwards of six years ago*. It is declared by many respectable colored people that immediately on his return from that place, and before he became a dependent upon the Colonization Society, he gave an unfavorable account of the colony; and that since his testimony was given above, he has said he would never again speak in favor of Liberia.

The appearance of Davis, as an impugner of Brown's testimony, excited some expressions of displeasure among the colored part of the audience; and things might, for aught we know, have been said and done by these goaded and insulted people, to give some color to the charge that the friends of abolition behaved unseemly at the meeting. It is a fact, however, to which many hundreds of disinterested persons in the city, and from the country, were witnesses, that the abolitionists, as a body, during both days' examination of the witness, conducted with decorum and moderation. Their doings have been wilfully and grossly misrepresented, not merely by unprincipled political papers, but even by newspapers styled religious. The publication of the testimony, precisely as it was given, will disabuse the public mind of part of the prejudice that may have been excited against the abolitionists by the extraordinary perversion of truth to which we have alluded. WE ASK THAT THE TESTIMONY MAY BE READ; the facts pondered; and we doubt not a candid public will pronounce a righteous decision.

APPENDIX.

After Mr. Brown's return to Philadelphia, Joshua Coffin, of that city, one of the committee of examination, and who has possession of the original questions, obtained from him answers to those questions that were sent up to the chairman of the meeting, and not proposed to the witness for want of opportunity. It is deemed proper to annex to the public examination these questions, with the answers. They will well reward an attentive perusal. Those who know Mr. Coffin, will need no assurance of the fidelity and accuracy of his report of the replies of Mr. Brown. And with respect to the witness himself, there is internal evidence of his intelligence, honesty, self-possession, fairness.

Question by P. D. Myers. Was you in the habit of drinking spirituous liquors, while in Liberia ?

I did not practice total abstinence, nor do I know of any colonist or settler who does. Ardent spirits are much used as a medicine, because it is thought necessary to the preservation of health. My own drink was principally ale and porter. By the term colonists or settlers, I do not mean the missionaries.

Question by H. Doughty. Is ardent spirit drank by those who preach the gospel there ?

Some of them do.

Question by W. Hall, jr. Is not Mr. Waring the preacher, who sells rum, a lay preacher ?

He is not, as he administers the ordinances.

Question by Tho. G. Fletcher. Have you reason to suppose that the Colonization Society approves the trade in rum ?

It is a matter I never inquired into. I have been informed by some of the old settlers, that no territory has as yet been purchased without rum.

Question by R. R. Gurley. Have you not understood that the Colonization Society are doing all in their power, by their advice and influence, to promote temperance.

I heard of no such thing while I was in Liberia.

Question by R. R. Gurley. Did you not know that the Liberia temperance society was formed before you left the colony ?

I did not. I knew there was one talked of.

Do you know that land has been bought at Cape Palmas by the Maryland Society without rum ?

I was informed by a gentleman who was present at the sale, that the land at Cape Palmas was bought without rum ; and that the Acty

dollars given to them instead of it, was used by the natives in the purchase of rum.

Is not temperance the rule, and intemperance the exception ?

It is, if by temperance is meant moderate drinking ; but if it means total abstinence, it is not. The colonists, as a body, are temperate people, and would be so considered here.

Question by J. H. Howard. Do not many captains and supercargoes arriving at Monrovia, dispose of their own cargoes ?

They do not, as it is contrary to law for any white man to be engaged in trade, in his own name.

Question by W. Dowell. Are the missionaries engaged in the sale of rum ?

No white man, is, to my knowledge, engaged in any kind of trade, as I said before.

Question by G. Cleaveland. You say that not more is doing to elevate the character of the natives, than is doing in this country for the colored people. Do you mean at the north, or in Charleston, S. C. ?

I alluded to Charleston. What is doing at the north I do not know. What the missionaries may do hereafter in Liberia, I pretend not to say. They have not, as yet, been able to do any thing, on account of sickness, and the shortness of the time they have been there.

How many grog shops are there in Liberia ?

There are none, as it is contrary to law to sell any quantity less than a gallon at a time.

Question by R. R. Gurley. Are not Teage, Johnson, Waring, Caesar, Baily, and several other colored men preachers ?

They are.

Question by A. Hadden. Is there a union in Liberia, between the church and state ?

There is an intimate union.

Question by Ch. Gould. Is it not usual for persons to leave their certificates of membership with the church in Africa, when they unite with the church there, on certificates ?

I arrived on the 17th of Dec. and on the 20th presented my certificate, in company with several others, none of whom were retained.

Question by D. E. Bartlett. Did you enter as probationer ?

Certainly not.

Question by C. L. M. Evangeles. How many times did you attend church during your stay in Liberia ?

Every Sabbath that I was able to go.

Question by Williamson. What number do you think attend church ?

The churches are well attended.

Question by D. E. Bartlett. Is it not true that the Sabbath is strictly observed there ?

The Sabbath is well observed.

Question by M. A. Baldwin. How many conversions of the colonists were there during your residence in the colony ?

There were some conversions but how many I cannot say.

Question by Cleaveland. When you say you found clergymen acting as commission merchants in Liberia, have you not found the same to be the case in America ?

I have known one or two instances.

Question by R. R. Gurley. Do not the colonists have days, in which they celebrate the founding of the colony ?

They have one day in December. On the last anniversary, their orator, the Rev. Mr. Lewis, said in his address, that the tree of virtue in the colony had received a blow at the root, and it had been tottering and falling ever since. The blow, he said, was struck in 1828. He dwelt much on this point.

Question by R. R. Gurley. Have you or have you not, understood from those who have been in the interior, that the country is a fine and fertile country ?

I have every reason to believe, from what I have heard, that the country there is fertile.

Question by R. R. Gurley. Is there not a saw mill now erecting in the colony ?

It was not commenced when I came away. John J. Russell was engaged to build the mill, but declined, and was about to remove to Sierra Leone when I came away.

Question by E. A. Stillman. Is timber produced in considerable quantities in the vicinity of the colony ?

It is not. In the lower settlements the sawyers say it is nearly exhausted, and is now carried from 3 to 6 miles on the heads of men, women and children.

Question by W. R. Gordon. Do not the colonists look down with a degree of contempt upon the natives ?

They do.

Question by Wilson. Did you treat them as servants ?

I hired one native as a house servant, and occasionally others in the store.

Question by R. R. Gurley. Are not some native children learning the English language, and do you not think it easy for teachers to instruct the children in the English language ?

Those engaged as servants are of course learning English, but I know of no others. Colored children are, however, very tractable.

Question by D. E. Bartlett. Do not the colored people in Liberia make their own laws ?

They do not. They can propose laws subject to the approval of the society.

Question by H. G. Ludlow. How many of the colonists are able to read ?
I suppose about one third.

Question by J. Coffin. How many do you suppose can write?
Perhaps one sixth.

Question by D. D. Marein. Do the natives use the powder and muskets for hunting wild beasts, or in war among the tribes?

They use them for both purposes.

Question by J. Coffin. What is the principal cause of these wars?

I do not know the general cause of their wars, but many of them are occasioned by the slave trade.

Question by D. D. Marein. Who favor the slave trade most, the colonists or natives?

There is no slave trade carried on within 60 miles of Monrovia, namely, at Galenas and Cape Mount. There it is carried on by the natives; some settlers reside among them.

Question by J. Coffin. How many of the re-captured Africans are living in Liberia? Do they reside by themselves? Are they as industrious as the colonists from this country? Can many of them read?

They reside at New Georgia, and are the most industrious people in the colony. Their number I do not know. I know of more than 20 re-captured Africans, who have married American women, and there are probably many more. Among themselves, they do not speak English, and do not read it. Their children are learning to read in Mr. James Eden's school, at that place.

Question by S. Smith. Do you know of any instance where spear-pointed knives were imported into the colony by vessels sent out by the Colonization Society?

I do not. These knives are principally an English article.

Question by Charles Starr. Have you ever purchased any of the spear-pointed knives you speak of? If so, what did you do with them?

I purchased thirty dozen, which I sold to Major Barbour, and Captain Weaver, who is agent at Grand Bassa.

Question by Charles Starr. What did you do with the guns you purchased?

They lay on my hands till there was a scarcity in the colony; I then sold them to merchants and settlers in the colony. I never sold any to the natives.

Question by C. Franklin. How were you in Liberia, and how long there before you was taken sick?

I was there about ten days before I was taken sick. The other question has been answered.

How many days did you spend in examining the place?

I was in Monrovia nearly fourteen months, and visited at different times, Caldwell, Millsburgh and New Georgia.

With how many colonists are you acquainted?

With nearly all at Monrovia, and many at the other settlements.

Question by A. Vail. For how long a time together, have you been well?

I was not entirely well during my residence in the colony. I was never free from the fever and ague for four days together.

Question by J. W. Carrington. Was the occasion on which Mr. Brown went to Cape Mount, one of the times on which he was not out of his bed for four days together, as he (Mr. Brown) says that he was never out of his bed for more than four days at a time?

I was two days in going to Cape Mount, and about four hours in returning.

Question by G. W. Bethune. Of what character are those colonists who wish to return; are they among the most industrious and temperate, or the reverse?

Those of both classes wish to return. For evidence of this see Mr. Doughty's letter.

Question by D. T. F. McLaughlin. To what degree are the natives friendly to the colony?

It is difficult to give a correct answer to this question. A principal part of the natives in the colony are either servants or laborers, who remain a part of the year only.

Question R. R. Gurley. Is there not a Baptist missionary society in Liberia?

There is.

Question by H. Gell. How much money had you when you left Charleston, independent of the money which you obtained for your two houses?

Over six hundred dollars.

Question by J. Sanders. What is the nett amount of your gains by going to Liberia, exclusive of your passage back?

Instead of gaining money, I shall lose \$1600, unless the colony should revive and flourish. In that case my loss will be less.

Question by R. R. Gurley. When you say you paid forty cents per pound for butter, do you mean that you paid that in coin?

I mean in coin. I have in fact paid fifty cents per pound in silver.

How do you know that the language of the natives is greatly diversified; do you understand any or all of them?

I do not understand the native languages, but I have seen repeated instances where one native could not understand another.

Question by H. Gell. Were you not from some circumstances unfriendly to the Colonization Society before you left Liberia?

I was, in consequence of the disappointment arising from the non-performance of their engagement to send out the lumber, and from the refusal of the Governor to take his own acceptances in payment of duties.

Question by Henry Gell. Has not the fact that the greater majority of the people with whom you associate particularly had some influence on your mind, and caused you to give statements unfavorable to the Colonization Society?

Not in the least. My mind has not been at all changed in that respect since I left Liberia. If my statements are unfavorable to the Colonization Society, I can only say that they are true.

Question by Henry Gell. Has not the fact that you were written to by a friend of the Anti-slavery Society, to come to New York from Philadelphia, had some influence on your mind in these statements ?

No. I was induced to go to New York as much by the belief that colonizationists wished to ascertain the true state of the colony, as any thing else.

Question by G. C. Schaeffer. Are there any mulatto men in Liberia ? and are not whites, such as captains of vessels and sailors, frequent visitors in the colony ?

There are several mulattoes in Liberia. Many captains visit the colony for the purpose of disposing of their cargoes to the commission merchants, but sleep on board their vessels. Sailors very seldom come on shore, as the Kroomen unload the ships.

Question by D. T. Van Doren. Do you not know that the year you went out was much more unhealthy in comparison to the number of inhabitants, than other years ?

I do not know that it was. I have been informed by the old settlers, that in some expeditions every emigrant has perished.

Question by J. Smith. What is the most advanced age, as far as your knowledge extends, of any who have gone from this country ?

I know of two persons who are probably not far from seventy.

Question by W. Hall, Jr. How many persons do you know to have cheated the natives ?

I never attempted to count them.

Question by C. Kellogg. Did you ever cheat the natives yourself ?

Being a wholesale merchant, I did not trade with the natives except in a few instances ; nor do I know of more than one merchant at Monrovia, who does personally trade with the natives. That is principally carried on by persons who are called factory men.

Question by J. Coffin. What are these factories, how are they built, and what do they cost ?

I never saw one myself, but I have been informed by those who own them, that they are thatched huts, from five to six feet high at the eaves, and cost from twenty to forty bars ; a bar being estimated at twenty-five cents.

Question by J. Coffin. Do the natives ever cheat the colonists, and if so, what is their punishment when detected ?

They do, frequently ; and when they are detected, and can be apprehended within the limits of the colony, are put in the stocks, and there they remain till pecuniary compensation is given by their relatives or friends.

Question by F. T. Peet. How many ships visited the colony while you were there, who were there supposed to be slavers ?

No ships ; but some small vessels came from Cape Mount and Galleras. The slave trade is said to be carried on at Little Bassa.

Question by H. Gilpin. What led Ward to tell Mr. Simpson that you and your partner cheated him ?

There was not, to my knowledge, any such man as Simpson in the colony; and Ward never, to my knowledge, charged either of us with defrauding him. He was himself the book-keeper, and had the books for several weeks after the dissolution of our partnership.

Question by Rev. J. Wilson. Do you mean to say that Mr. Elliot Cresson held out any inducement to you to make a false statement of the colony?

What I thought of Mr. Cresson's request, will appear from my answer to him in presence of Dr. Gardner, which was as follows: "I never knew what poverty was, but far preferable to me would be the bread of poverty to the bread of deceit."

Do you not know that it is a part of the contract, which the Maryland Society have made for the purchase of territory, that they shall establish free schools for the benefit of the natives?

I have heard that mentioned, and understand that Mr. Wilson expects to go and establish a school there.

Question by D. E. Bartlett. Did you see or hear of the deputation sent out last year by the free-colored people of Natchez to visit Liberia?

I did not see them, as they had returned to America before I left it.

Question by J. Coffin. Did you read the report written by them?

I read the report to which their names are attached. I use this expression, as I was afterwards informed by several persons in the colony that they were illiterate men, and by a gentleman who is now a merchant there, who returned to this country in the same ship with them, that one of them was learning his letters on board the vessel.

Question by J. Coffin. Is Monrovia on the whole improving?

It is not, in my opinion. I know of three houses now building, and three churches. Two of the latter are as substitutes for two old ones.

Question by W. Chauncy. Would not rice and other productions grow in sufficient quantities to sustain the colonists, if the ground was well cultivated?

I am not qualified to judge, as the experiment has never been tried. Not an acre of land has yet, to my knowledge, ever been plowed.

Question by J. Coffin. How many horses, cattle, sheep, goats and jacks, have you ever seen in the colony?

I have seen two horses, two milch cows, no oxen except what are brought into the colony for beef, a few hogs, 8 or 10 sheep at Monrovia, about as many goats, and 4 or 5 jacks.

Question by J. Coffin. What fruits are there in Liberia?

Bananas, plantains, guavas, limes, and a few oranges.

Question by J. Coffin. How are these obtained?

The bananas, plantains and oranges, by purchase from the natives and recaptured Africans, and a few from the colonists in the upper settlements.

Are the colonists as a body able to pay their debts?

Some of them are able, but many of them say they are not able.

From what you know of the settlement would you recommend the free colored people to go?

No, I would not.

Question by R. B. Hall. Did any of the colonists ever tell you that they would not have gone to Liberia if they had not been forced to go by direct compulsion?

I am acquainted with several from Southampton Co. Virginia, who informed me that they received several hundred lashes from the patrols, to make them willing to go. In one instance a man was several times compelled to witness the lashes inflicted on his wife, and then to be severely flogged himself. In another instance a family received information from their white neighbors that unless they went to Liberia in the ship then about to sail to Liberia, they should be whipped. Having no means of redress they were obliged to go. I was also informed by the blacksmith, who did our work and who was a very pious man, that he had no notice that he was to go to Liberia till the day before he was ordered by his master to take the steam-boat, which carried him to the ship in which he sailed for Liberia. His consent was not asked, nor had he time to collect any tools to carry with him.

Question by J. Coffin. What is the probable cause of a part of the Mandingoes abandoning the Mahometan faith, and what is now their conduct?

As they are engaged in all kinds of trade on every point of the coast from Sierra Leone to Liberia, I do not know what should cause their change of views. It is well known that those professing the Mahometan faith never drink any kind of intoxicating liquors, but, since they have abandoned the Mahometan faith the Mandingoes are in the habit of getting drunk, to the great surprise of the other natives. I have myself seen in the town of Caldwell, a Mandingo merchant, the leader of a band of thirty men, drunk, and heard a native say, "What the matter Mandingo man, he just same other men," or in other words he is as drunk as a Christian.

Question by J. Coffin. Are they engaged in the slave trade now?

They are still, as before, engaged in the slave trade like other nominal Christians, and it is generally understood that the tobacco and guns purchased by them of the factory men are used in the purchase of slaves. To all their former vices they now add intemperance as their first Christian lesson.

Question by W. Welles. Why did the colored men from Liberia, who attended the Colonization meeting last 4th of July at this place, give such favorable reports, and why did they return to Liberia after a long trial, if the colony is so bad?

I do not know that they did give favorable reports of the colony, because I heard one of them say that he made no favorable reports, and did not advise any person to come. At that time both were officers in the colony and receiving a salary.

Question by J. Coffin. Did you see Simon Negro in the colony?

I did; I saw him nearly every day after his arrival during his life. He said he came out there to pray and sing, and exhort the people, which he did, and was in good spirits till his death in December last.

Question by J. Coffin. Do you think if the real and actual state of the colony at Liberia was known to the free colored people of this country, that any more of them would voluntarily go to that place?

I do not.

22 22

A HISTORICAL EXAMINATION

OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN

WESTERN AFRICA,

AS FORMED BY

PAGANISM AND MUHAMMEDANISM, SLAVERY,
THE SLAVE TRADE AND PIRACY,

AND OF THE REMEDIAL INFLUENCE OF

COLONIZATION AND MISSIONS.

27 27



⊙ COLONIZATION AND MISSIONS.

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BY JOSEPH TRACY,

SECRETARY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY

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PUBLISHED BY THE BOARD OF MANAGERS.
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# COLONIZATION AND MISSIONS.

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## PART I.

The question stated.—Proceedings of Missionary Boards and Colonial Governments.  
—Charges against the Government of American Colonies at an end.—Charges against the Moral Influence of the Colonists as Individuals, and Mode of meeting them.

“IF the experiment, in its more remote consequences, should ultimately tend to the diffusion of similar blessings through those vast and unnumbered tribes yet obscured in primeval darkness, reclaim the rude wanderer from a life of wretchedness to civilization and humanity, and convert the blind idolater from gross and abject superstitions to the holy charities, the sublime morality and humanizing discipline of the gospel, the nation or the individual that shall have taken the most conspicuous lead in achieving the benevolent enterprise, will have raised a monument of that true and imperishable glory, founded in the moral approbation and gratitude of the human race, unapproachable to all but the elected instruments of divine beneficence.”

Such was the language addressed by the American Colonization Society to the Congress of the United States, in a memorial presented two weeks after the formation of the Society. To the hope which these words express, we are indebted for a large and valuable part of countenance and aid which we have received. For some years past, however, this hope has been pronounced a delusion. Men who strenuously contend that the colored people of this country are fit for social equality and intercourse with our white population, assert, not very consistently, that when settled in Africa, they corrupt the morals of the idolatrous natives, and actually impede the progress of civilization and Christianity.

These assertions have had the greater influence, because they have been thought to be corroborated by the representations of American Missionaries, laboring for the conversion of the heathen in and around the colonial possessions. These missionaries, it is said, represent the colonies, or the colonists, or something connected with colonization, as serious obstacles to the success of their labors. In this way, some of our former friends have been led to disbelieve, and still greater numbers to doubt, the utility of our labors. The interests of the So-

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 The Charges against the Colonies.
 

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ciety, therefore, and of the colony, and of Africa, and of Christianity, demand an investigation of the subject.

It would be easier to meet these charges, if we could ascertain exactly what they are. But this has hitherto proved impracticable. Common fame has reported, that the missionaries of the American, the Presbyterian, and the Protestant Episcopal Boards at Cape Palmas, united, some time in 1842, in joint representation of their respective Boards, containing serious charges of the nature above mentioned.\* It was reported also, that this document was confidential; and that, for this reason, and especially as three Boards and their missionaries were interested in it, no one Board had a right to divulge its contents. As this was said to be the principal document on the subject, and to contain the substance of all the rest, the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, at an early date, applied to the Secretaries of those three Boards for a copy, or at least for the perusal of it; but the request was not granted. We do not charge this refusal upon the Secretaries as a fault, or even as a mistake. We only mention it as the occasion of a serious inconvenience to us. It has also been reported, that about the same time, a certain pastor received a letter from one of those missionaries, which was confidential in this sense; that it might be circulated from hand to hand, and used in various ways to our prejudice, but must not be printed nor copied. This report of its character, of course, precluded any application for a copy.

Now, how can any man answer a report, that some or all of several very respectable persons three thousand miles off, have said something to his disadvantage? A man may be seriously injured by such a report; but in ordinary cases, he must bear the injury as best he may, and "live down" its influence if he can. In order to reply, he needs to know authentically who his accusers are, and what things they testify against them.

Let us see, however, whether industry and a good cause may not extricate us, even from a difficulty like this. We may learn something of the grounds of complaint, from the proceedings of the Boards of Missions; and we may learn from common fame, what common fame has led people to suspect. From all that we have heard, the complaints appear to be of two classes; those which relate to the action of the colonial governments, and those which relate to the influence of the colonists as individuals. We will consider them in their order.

Several years since, there was a controversy between the colonial government of Liberia and the superintendent of the Methodist Mission there, growing out of a dispute concerning duties on goods, imported by the superintendent for the purpose of trade. But that whole matter was soon settled. Another superintendent was sent out; and since

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\*Some have received the erroneous impression, that all the American missionaries in Liberia united in this representation. In fact, no missionary in any part of Liberia Proper,—that is, none in any place under the care of the American Colonization Society,—had any concern in it, or any knowledge of it. The nearest station occupied by any of its reputed signers, was ninety miles beyond the southernmost settlement of Liberia Proper. Some of them had spent a few days at Monrovia as visitors; but for their knowledge of any settlement except Cape Palmas, they were almost wholly dependent on hearsay. Their representations concerning the other settlements, if they made any, are therefore of little value, and no official action has been founded on them.

his death, the first has gone back, with express instructions to avoid his former errors. It is not known that the government of Liberia has ever had any other collision with any missionary, or missionary society.

It appears from the Report of the American Board for 1842, that the missionaries complained, and, as the Board thought, with reason, of several laws of the Maryland colony at Cape Palmas, where the mission was located. It has been understood, that the other Boards which had missions there, entertained substantially the same views of those laws.

To this it is a sufficient reply, that we have nothing to do with Cape Palmas. The colony there is a distinct colony, with a government of its own. It was planted, and is sustained, by the Maryland Colonization Society, which is not a branch of the American, nor auxiliary to it, nor any way connected with it or under its influence. To bring a charge against our colony on account of the laws of Cape Palmas, is as unjust as it would be to blame the government of England for the laws of France. But this difficulty, too, has been settled. A few words will explain its origin and its termination.—It was from the beginning the policy of that colony, as of ours, not to exterminate or expel the natives, but to amalgamate them and the colonists into one people. The missions at Cape Palmas, however, were commenced as missions to the heathen natives, and not to the colonists. They therefore had a tendency to raise up a native interest, distinct from that of the colonists; to keep the two classes separate, and make them rivals to each other, instead of uniting them as one people. In this respect, the policy of the missions was in direct conflict with that of the colony; and this was the true source of the conflict of opinion and feeling. The case may be better understood, by viewing it in contrast with the Methodist mission in Liberia. That mission is not sent to the heathen exclusively, but to all the inhabitants of the territory on which they labor. Of course, all who come under its influence, colonists or natives, are drawn to the same religious meetings; all are gathered into the same churches; or, if children, brought into the same schools. The whole influence of the mission goes to make natives and colonists one people, and thus coincides with the policy of the colony. The contrary policy at Cape Palmas naturally led to alienation of feeling, and to acts of both the government and the missionaries, which were mutually unpleasant, and some of which appear to have been unjustifiable. The mission of the American Board was removed, for this and other reasons, to the Gaboon river; and that of the Presbyterian Board to Settra Krou, in Liberia Proper. That of the Episcopal Board was continued and strengthened, and has made peace by avoiding the original cause of dissension. The Report of that Board for the year 1844, says:—"The relations between the colonists and the missionaries at Cape Palmas during the past year appear to have been of a friendly character; and as the desire of the latter to promote, so far as in them lies, the moral and religious interests of the colonists becomes more and more apparent, it is believed that no obstacles to the beneficial influence of the mission will be interposed." This is a *very explicit statement, not only of the fact, that in the judgment of*

the Episcopal Board, no such "obstacles" *now* exist, or are expected to exist hereafter, but of the change which has led to their removal.

*At present*, therefore, the government of Cape Palmas, as well as that of Liberia, stands unaccused and unsuspected of any hostile bearing upon the cause of missions.

The charge against the influence of individual colonists is less easily ascertained, and therefore less easily met; but by a somewhat diligent inquiry, we believe that we know, very nearly, the substance of it. According to our best information, it is not denied that a larger proportion of the colonists are regular communicants in the churches, than in almost any other community in the world; nor is it pretended that Sabbath-breaking, profaneness, or intemperance are very prevalent. It is said, however, that most of their religion is mere animal excitement; that many of the communicants are self-deceived, or hypocrites; that cases of church discipline for immorality are numerous; that many of the colonists are lazy and improvident; that some make hard bargains with the natives; that many of them feel no interest in the conversion or improvement of the native population; that they neglect the instruction of hired laborers from native families; that, by the practice of various immoralities, they bring reproach upon Christianity; and finally, that their children are more difficult to manage in school, than the children of the natives.

Now, to a certain extent, all this is doubtless true. The world never saw, and probably never will see, a Christian community so pure, that such complaints against it would be wholly false. That the misconduct of Christians brings reproach upon the gospel and is a hindrance to the progress of piety, is a standing topic of lamentation, even in the most religious parts of New England; and who doubts that, in a certain sense, there is some truth in it? Much more may we expect it to be true among a people whose opportunities for improvement have been no better than the Liberians have enjoyed. We readily concede, that these complaints have too much foundation in facts.

But who, that understands Africa, would, on this account, pronounce the colony a hindrance to the progress of Christian piety, morality and civilization? It cannot be, that those who make such objections, or those who yield to them, know what that part of the world was, before the influence of the colony was felt there. Let that be once understood, and the thought that a colony of free colored people from this country *could* demoralize the natives, or render the work of missions among them more difficult, will be effectually banished. Let us inquire, then, what Western Africa was, when first known to Europeans; what influences have since been operating there; what effects those influences are known to have produced; what was the character of the country when the colony was first planted; and what changes have resulted from its existence.

In pursuing this inquiry, we must gather our facts from the whole coast of Upper Guinea, extending from the mouth of the Senegal to the Bight of Benin; for, with partial exceptions among the Muhammedan tribes near the Senegal, the people are substantially one; the *same* in their physical character, their government, their social condition, their superstitions, manners, and morals; and the same influences



have been at work among them all. In the middle portion, extending from Sierra Leone to Elmina and including Liberia, this identity of original character and modifying influence is most complete, and illustrations taken from any part of it, are commonly applicable to the whole. The correctness of these remarks will be more manifest as we proceed.

## PART II.

Discovery of Guinea.—Rise, Progress and Influence of the Slave Trade.—Prevalence and Influence of Piracy.—Character of the Natives before the influence of Colonization was felt.

We shall not dwell upon the full length portraits of negroes on Egyptian monuments three thousand years old, because their interpretation might be disputed; though their dress, their attitudes, their banjos, and every indication of character, show that they were then substantially what they are now. We shall pass over Ethiopian slaves in Roman and Carthaginian history; because it might be difficult to prove that they came from the region under consideration. We will begin with Ibn Haukal, the Arabian Geographer, who wrote while the Saracen Ommiades ruled in Spain, and before the founding of Cairo in Egypt; that is, between A. D. 902 and 968.

Ibn Haukal very correctly describes the "land of the blacks," as an extensive region, with the Great Desert on the North, the coast of the ocean to the South, and not easily accessible, except from the West; and as inhabited by people whose skins are of a finer and deeper black than that of any other blacks. He mentions the trade from the land of the blacks, through the Western part of the Great Desert, to Northern Africa, in gold and slaves; which found their way thence to other Muhammedan regions. "The white slaves," he says, "come from Andalus," [Spain] "and damsels of great value, such as are sold for a thousand dinars, or more."\*

\*This expression must not be taken too strictly. Sicily also furnished many Christian slaves, and others were obtained from other parts of Europe. Since the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the Muhammedans of Northern Africa have been able to obtain but few Christian slaves, except by piracy. They however continued to do what they could. Their corsairs, principally from Algiers on the Barbary coast and Salee on the Western coast of Morocco, seized the vessels and enslaved the crews of all Christian nations trading in those seas. To avoid it, nearly, if not quite, all the maritime nations of Christendom paid them an annual tribute. The United States, we believe, was the first nation that refused to pay this tribute; and this refusal led to wars with Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers. Several European powers have since followed our example. In 1815, the Emperor of Morocco stipulated by treaty, that British subjects should no longer be made slaves in his dominions. Several of the southern powers of Europe still pay this tribute; and while we have been preparing these pages for the press, negotiations have been going on with Morocco, for releasing one or two of the northern powers from its payment. At this day, the Turks and Persians obtain "black slaves" from the interior of Africa, by the way of Nubia and Egypt, and by sea from Zeila and Berbera, near the outlet of the Red Sea, and from the Zanzibar coast. According to Sir T. F. Buxton, this branch of the slave trade consumes 100,000 victims annually, half of whom live to become serviceable. White slaves, mostly "damsels of great value," they procure from Circassia and other regions around Mount Caucasus.

Ibn Batuta, of Tangier, after returning from his travels in the east, visited Tombuctoo and other Muhammedan places on the northern border of the negro country in 1352. The pagans beyond them enslaved each other, sold each other to the Muhammedans, or were enslaved by them, as has been done ever since. Some of them, he learned, were cannibals; and when one of the petty monarchs sent an embassy to another, a fattened slave, ready to be killed and eaten, was a most acceptable present.

Of Christian nations, the French claim the honor of first discovering the coast of Guinea. It is said that the records of Dieppe, in Normandy, show an agreement of certain merchants of that place and Rouen, in the year 1365, to trade to that coast. Some place the commencement of that trade as early as 1346. Having traded along the Grain Coast, and made establishments at Grand Sesters and other places, they doubled Cape Palmas, explored the coast as far as Elmina, and commenced a fortress there in 1383. In 1387, Elmina was enlarged, and a chapel built. The civil wars about the close of that century were injurious to commerce. In 1413, the company found its stock diminishing, and gradually abandoned the trade, till only their establishment on the Senegal was left. There are some circumstances which give plausibility to this account; yet it is doubted by some writers, even in France, and generally disbelieved or neglected by others.

The account of the discovery by the Portuguese is more authentic; and its origin must be narrated with some particularity.

During the centuries of war between the Christians of Spain and their Moorish invaders and oppressors, an order of knights was instituted, called "The Order of Christ." Its object was, to maintain the war against the Moors, and also "to conquer and convert all who denied the truth of their holy religion." To this, the knights were consecrated by a solemn vow. Henry of Loraine was rewarded for his services in these wars with the gift of Portugal, and of whatever else he should take from the Moors. Under his descendants, Portugal became a kingdom; and John I., having expelled or slaughtered the last of the Moors in his dominions, passed into Africa and took Ceuta in 1415. He was attended in this expedition by his son, Henry, Duke of Viseo, and Grand Master of the Order of Christ. Henry distinguished himself during the siege; remained sometime in Africa to carry on the war, and learned that beyond the Great Desert were the country of the Senegal and the Jaloffs. With the double design of conquering infidels and finding a passage to India by sea, having already pushed his discoveries to Cape Bojador, he obtained a bull from Pope Martin V., granting to the Portuguese an exclusive right in all the islands they already possessed, and also in all territories they might in future discover, from Cape Bojador to the East Indies. The Pope also granted a plenary indulgence to the souls of all who might perish in the enterprise, and in recovering the nations of those regions to Christ and his church. And certainly, few indulgences have been granted to souls that had more need of them.

*The Portuguese laity* were at first averse to an enterprise which appeared rash and useless; but the clergy rose up in its favor, and bore

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1432—1445.—Portuguese Discoveries.—Commencement of the Slave Trade.

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down all opposition. Ships were fitted out, and after some failures, Gilianez doubled Cape Bojador in 1432. In 1434, Alonzo Gonzales explored the coast for thirty leagues beyond. In 1435, he sailed along twenty-four leagues further. In an attempt to seize a party of natives, some were wounded on both sides. In 1440, Antonio Gonzales made the same voyage, seized about ten of the natives, all Moors, and brought them away.\* Nunno Tristan discovered Cape Blanco. In 1442, Antonio Gonzales returned to the coast, and released one of the Moors formerly carried away, on his promise to pay seven Guinea slaves for his ransom. The promise was not fulfilled; but two other Moors ransomed themselves for several blacks of different countries and some gold dust. The place was hence called Rio del Oro, (Gold River,) and is nearly under the Tropic of Cancer. In 1443, Nunno Tristan discovered Arguin, and caught 14 blacks. In 1444, Gilianez and others, in six caravels, seized 195 blacks, most of whom were Moors, near Arguin, and were well rewarded by their prince. In 1445, Gonzales de Cintra, with seven of his men, were killed 14 leagues beyond Rio del Oro, by 200 Moors. In 1446, Antonio Gonzales was sent to treat with the Moors at Rio del Oro, concerning peace, commerce, and their conversion to Christianity. They refused to treat. Nunno Tristan brought away 20 slaves. Denis Fernandez passed by the Senegal, took four blacks in a fishing boat, and discovered Cape Verde. In 1447, Antonio Gonzales took 25 Moors near Arguin, and took 55 and killed others at Cape Blanco. Da Gram took 54 at Arguin, ran eight leagues further and took 50 more, losing seven men. Lancelot and others, at various places, killed many and took about 180, of whom 20, being allies treacherously seized, were afterwards sent back. Nunno Tristan entered the Rio Grande, where he and all his men but four were killed by poisoned arrows. Alvaro Fernandez, 40 leagues beyond, had two battles with the natives, in one of which he was wounded. Gilianez and others were defeated with the loss of five men at Cape Verde, made 48 slaves at Arguin, and took two women and killed seven natives at Palma. Gomez Perez, being disappointed in the ransom of certain Moors at Rio del Oro, brought away 80 slaves.

Thus far from Portuguese historians. Next, let us hear the accounts which voyagers give of their own doings and discoveries. The oldest whose works are extant, and one of the most intelligent and trustworthy, is Aluise de Cada Mosto, a Venetian in the service of Portugal.

Cada Mosto sailed in 1455. He found the people around Cape Blanco and Arguin, Muhammedans. He calls them Arabs. They traded with Barbary, Tombucto and the negroes. They get from ten to eighteen negroes for a Barbary horse. From 700 to 800 annually are brought to Arguin and sold to the Portuguese. Formerly, the Portuguese used to land by night, surprise fishing villages and country places, and carry off Arabs. They had also seized some of the Azenaghi, who are a tawny race, north of Senegal, and who make better slaves than the negroes; but, as they are not confirmed Muhammedans, Don

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\* The common statement, that the first slaves were brought home by Alonzo Gonzales, in 1434, appears to be an error.

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1455—1481.—Discovery of Cape Mesurado.

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Henry had hopes of their conversion, and had made peace with them. South of the Senegal are the Jaloffs, who are savages, and extremely poor. Their king lives by robbery, and by forcing his subjects and others into slavery. He sells slaves to the Azenaghi, Arabs and Christians. Both sexes are very lascivious, and they are exceedingly addicted to sorcery. A little south of Cape Verde, he found negroes who would suffer no chief to exist among them, lest their wives and children should be taken and sold for slaves, "as they are in all other negro countries, that have kings and lords." They use poisoned arrows, "are great idolaters, without any law, and extremely cruel." Further on, he sent on shore a baptized negro as an interpreter, who was immediately put to death. He entered the Gambia, and was attacked by the natives in 15 canoes. After a battle, in which one negro was killed, they consented to a parley. They told him they had heard of the dealings of white men on the Senegal; knew that they bought negroes only to eat; would have no trade with them, but would kill them and give their goods to their king. He left the river and returned. The next year he entered the Gambia again, and went up about 40 miles. He staid eleven days, made a treaty with Battimansa, bought some slaves of him, and left the river because the fever had seized his crew. He found some Muhammedan traders there; but the people were idolaters, and great believers in sorcery. They never go far from home by water, for fear of being seized as slaves. He coasted along to the Kasamansa and Rio Grande; but finding the language such as none of his interpreters could understand, returned to Portugal.

In 1461, the Portuguese began to take permanent possession, by erecting a fort at Arguin.

In 1462, Pedro de Cintra discovered Sierra Leone, Gallinas river, which he called Rio del Fumi, because he saw nothing but smoke there,—Cape Mount, and Cape Mesurado, where he saw many fires among the trees, made by the negroes who had sight of the ships, and had never seen such things before. Sixteen miles farther along the coast, a few natives came off in canoes, two or three in each. They were all naked, had some wooden darts and small knives, two targets and three bows; had rings about their ears and one in the nose, and teeth strung about their necks, which seemed to be human. Such is our earliest notice of what is now Liberia. The teeth were those of slaughtered enemies, worn as trophies. The account of this voyage was written by Cada Mosto.

In 1463, Don Henry died, and the Guinea trade, which had been his property, passed into the hands of the king. He farmed it, for five years, to Fernando Gomez, for 500 ducats, and an obligation to explore 500 additional leagues of coast. In 1471, Juan de Santerem and Pedro de Escobar explored the Gold Coast, and discovered Rio del Oro del Mina; that is, Gold Mine River, which afterwards gave name to the fortress of Elmina.

In 1481, two Englishmen, John Tintam and William Fabian, began to fit out an expedition to Guinea; but John II. of Portugal sent two *ambassadors to England*, to insist on his own exclusive claims to that country, and the voyage was given up.

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Mission to Elmina.—Bull of Demarcation.—1481—1492.

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The same year, the king of Portugal sent ten ships, with 500 soldiers and 100, or as some say, 200 laborers, and a proper compliment of priests as missionaries, to Elmina. They arrived, and on the 19th of January, landed, and celebrated the first mass in Guinea. Prayer was offered for the conversion of the natives, and the perpetuity of the church about to be founded.

In 1484, John II. invited the powers of Europe to share with him the expense of these discoveries, and of "making conquests on the infidels," which tended to the common benefit of all; but they declined. He then obtained from the Pope a bull, confirming the former grant to Portugal, of all the lands they should discover from Cape Bojador to India, forbidding other nations to attempt discoveries in those parts of the world, and decreeing that if they should make any, the regions so discovered should belong to Portugal. From this time, the king of Portugal, in addition to his other titles, styled himself "Lord of Guinea."

The same year, Diego Cam passed the Bight of Benin, discovered Congo, and explored the coast to the twenty second degree of south latitude. In a few years, a treaty was made with the king of Congo, for the conversion of himself and his kingdom. The king and several of the royal family were baptized; but on learning that they must abandon polygamy, nearly all renounced their baptism. This led to a war, which ended in their submission to Rome.

About the same time, the king of Benin applied for missionaries, hoping thereby to draw Portuguese trade to his dominions. "But they being sent, the design was discovered not to be religion, but covetousness. For these heathens bought christened slaves; and the Portuguese, with the same avarice, sold them after being baptized, knowing that their new masters would oblige them to return to their old idolatry. This scandalous commerce subsisted till the religious king John III. forbade it, though to his great loss." Such was the character of the Portuguese in Guinea.

And here, for the sake of placing these events in their true connection with the history of the world, it may be well to state, that in 1486, Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope; and in 1492, Columbus made his first voyage to America. In 1493, May 2, Pope Alexander, "out of his pure liberality, infallible knowledge and apostolic power," granted to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, all countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered or might discover, on condition of their planting and propagating there the Christian faith. Another bull, issued the next day, decreed that a line drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores, and extending from pole to pole, should divide the claims of Spain from those of Portugal; and in June, 1494, another bull removed this line of demarcation to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. In 1492, Vasco de Gama succeeded in reaching India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Thenceforth, the more splendid atrocities of the East and West Indies threw those on the coast of Guinea into the shade, and historians have recorded them with less minuteness; so that, from this time, we are unable to give names and dates with the same precision as heretofore. We know,

however, that they continued to extend their intercourse with the natives, and their possessions along the coast.

It was some time previous to 1520, that one Bemoi came to Portugal, representing himself as the rightful king of the Jaloffs, and requesting aid against his rivals. To obtain it, he submitted to baptism, with twenty-four of his followers, and agreed to hold his kingdom as a fief of Portugal. Pedro Vaz de Cunna was sent out, with twenty caravels well manned and armed, to assist him, and to build a fort at the mouth of the Senegal. The fort was commenced; but Pedro found some pretext for quarrelling with Bemoi, and stabbed him to the heart. Intercourse, however, was soon established extensively with the Jaloffs, the Foulahs, and other races in that region; of whom the Portuguese, settling in great numbers among them, became the virtual lords. We find them subsequently in possession of forts or trading houses, or living as colonists, at the Rio Grande, Sierra Leone, probably at Gallinas, Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado, certainly at the Junk, Sestos and Sangwin on the coast of Liberia, at Cape Three Points, Axim, Elmina, and numerous other places on the Ivory, Gold and Slave Coasts. So universally predominant was their influence, that in the course of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese became the common language of business, and was everywhere generally understood by such natives as had intercourse with foreigners. A few Portuguese words, such as "palaver," "fetish," and perhaps some others, remain in current use among the natives to this day.

Of the character of the Portuguese on the coast, some judgment may be formed from what has already been stated. It seems rapidly to have grown worse and worse. It was a place of banishment for criminals, convicted of various outrages, violence and robbery; a place where fugitives from justice sought and found a refuge; a place where adventurers who hated the restraints of law, sought freedom and impunity. "No wonder, therefore," says a writer who had been at Elmina, "that the histories of those times give an account of unparalleled violence and inhumanities perpetrated at the place by the Portuguese, whilst under their subjection, not only against the natives and such Europeans as resorted thither, but even amongst themselves." Bad as the native character originally was, Portuguese influence rapidly added to its atrocity. A series of wars, which commenced among them about this time, illustrates the character of both.

In 1515, or as some say, in 1505, the Cumbas from the interior, began to make plundering incursions upon the Capez, about Sierra Leone. The Cumbas were doubtless a branch of the Giagas, another division of whom emigrated, twenty or thirty years later, to the upper region on the Congo river, and there founded the kingdom of Ansiko, otherwise called Makoko, whose king ruled over thirteen kingdoms. "Their food," says Rees' Cyclopaedia, Art. Ansiko, "is said to be human flesh, and human bodies are hung up for sale in their shambles. Conceiving that they have an absolute right to dispose of their slaves at pleasure, their prisoners of war are fattened, killed and eaten, or sold to butchers." Specimens of this cannibal race, from near the same region, have shown themselves within a very few years. The Cumbas, on invading the Capez, were pleased with the country, and

The Cumbas and Giagas,—1492—1515.

resolved to settle there. They took possession of the most fertile spots, and cleared them of their inhabitants, by killing and eating some, and selling others to the Portuguese, who stood ready to buy them. In 1678, that is, 163 years or more from its commencement, this war was still going on.\*

\* These Giagas form one of the most horribly interesting subjects for investigation, in all history. In Western Africa, they extended their ravages as far south as Benguela. Their career in that direction seems to have been arrested by the great desert, sparsely peopled by the Damaras and Namaquas, extending from Benguela to the Orange River, and presenting nothing to plunder. In 1586, the missionary Santos found them at war with the Portuguese settlements on the Zambeze. He describes their ravages, but without giving dates, along the eastern coast for a thousand miles northward to Melinda, where they were repulsed by the Portuguese. Antonio Fernandez, writing from Abyssinia in 1609, mentions an irruption of the Galae, who are said to be the same people, though some dispute their identity. These Galae, "a savage nation, begotten of devils, as the vulgar report," he informs us, issued from their forests and commenced their ravages a hundred years before the date of his letter; that is, about the time of the invasion of Sierra Leone by the Cumbas. We find no express mention of their cannibalism; but in other respects they seem closely to resemble the Giagas. Thus we find them, from the commencement of the sixteenth century far into the seventeenth, ravaging the continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and through thirty degrees of latitude. As to their original location, accounts differ. Some place it back of the northern part of Liberia. This was evidently one region from which they emigrated. Their migrations hence to Sierra Leone on the north and Congo and Benguela on the south, are recorded facts. Here, under the name of Mani, Manez, or Monou, though comparatively few in numbers, they exercised a supremacy over and received tribute from the Quijas, the Folgias, and all the maritime tribes from Sierra Leone almost to Cape Palmas. East of Cape Palmas, their cannibalism and general ferocity marked the character of the people quite down to the coast, especially along what was called the Malegentes (Bad People) and Qauqua coasts. The testimony is conclusive, that the Cumbas who invaded Sierra Leone and the Giagas of Ansiko and Benguela were from this region. According to other accounts, their origin was in the region on the eastern slope of the continent, from the upper waters of the Nile and the borders of Abyssinia, extending southward across the equator. In most regions, they appeared merely as roving banditti, remaining in a country only long enough to reduce it to desolation. Every where the Giagas themselves were few, but had numerous followers, who were of the same ferocious character. Every where, except perhaps among the Galae, they had the same practice of making scars on their faces by way of ornament. Every where they practiced the same cannibalism. On taking the city of Quiloa, a little south of Zanzibar, they butchered "three thousand Moors, for future dainties, to eat at leisure." Every where their religion was substantially the same, consisting mainly in worshipping the devil when about to commence an expedition. They had various names, some of which have been already mentioned. In the east, they were also called Mumbas, Zimbas, and Muzimbas. In the same region, and the vicinity of Congo, they were also called Jagges, Gagas, Giachi, and it was said, called themselves Agags. Compare also, of terms still in use, the Gallas, a savage people on the south of Abyssinia, who are doubtless the Galae of Fernandez; the Golahs, formerly written Galas, north east of Monrovia, in the Monou region, of whose connection with the Giagas, however, there appears to be no other evidence; and the Mumbo Jumbo, or fictitious devil, with whom the priests overawe the superstitious in the whole region south of the Gambia. Their followers, in eastern Africa, were called Caffres; but perhaps the word was used in its original Arabic sense, as meaning infidels. Near the Congo, their followers were called Ansikos, and their principal chief, "the great Makoko," which some have mistaken for a national designation. Here, also, Imbe was a title of office among them, while in the east it was applied to the whole people. In Angola they were called Gindae. Whether any traces of them still remain in Eastern Africa, or around Congo and Benguela, we are too ignorant of those regions to decide. In the region of Liberia, there can be no doubt on the subject. American missionaries at Cape Palmas have seen and conversed with men from the interior, who avow without hesitation their fondness for human flesh, and their habit of eating it. On the Cavally river, the eastern boundary of Cape Palmas, the cannibal region begins some twenty, thirty or forty miles from the coast, and extends northward, in the rear of Liberia, indefinitely. Farther east, it approaches and perhaps reaches the coast. In this region, prisoners of war and sometimes slaves are still slain for food. Here, too, slaves are sacrificed at the ratification of a treaty, and trees are planted to mark the spot and serve as records of the fact. Such trees have been pointed out to our missionaries, by men who were present when they were planted. Compare, too, the human sacrifices of Ashantee and Dahomey, and the devil-worship of all Western Africa.—But after all, were the Giagas one race of men, as cotemporary historians supposed? Or were they men of a certain character, then predominant through nearly all Africa south of the Great Desert?

The trade in slaves received a new impulse about this time, from the demand for them in the Spanish West Indies. They had been introduced into those colonies, at least as early as 1503; and the trade was encouraged by edicts, of Ferdinand V. in 1511, and of Charles V. in 1515. At the close of the century, this trade was immense. Portuguese residents bought the slaves of the natives, or procured them otherwise, and sold them to Spanish traders, who carried them to the West Indies.

The Protestants of England and Holland felt little respect for the Pope's grant of all Western Africa to Portugal; and even the French soon learned to disregard it.

The English took the lead. In 1551, and again in 1552, Thomas Windham visited the coast of Morocco. The Portuguese threatened him, that if found again in those seas, he and his crew should be treated as "mortal enemies." Nothing daunted by these threats, he sailed again the next year. He took a Portuguese partner as a guide, and visited the whole coast from the river Sestos to Benin. In 1554, Capt. John Lok, with three ships, reached the coast at Cape Mesurado, sailed along it nearly or quite to Benin, and brought home "certain black slaves," the first, so far as appears, ever brought to England. From this time, voyages appear to have been made annually, and sometimes several in a year, always in armed ships, and attended with more or less fighting with the Portuguese, the natives, or both. In 1564, David Carlet attempted to trade with the negroes near Elmina. The negroes, hired and instructed by the Portuguese, first secured their confidence, and then betrayed Carlet, a merchant who accompanied him, and twelve of his crew, to the Portuguese, as prisoners. This mode of employing the negroes now became a common practice. In 1590, "about 42" Englishmen were taken or slain and their goods seized by the Portuguese and negroes combined at Portudal and Joal, on the coast of the Jaloffs. Captains Rainolds and Dassel, who were there the next year, detected a similar conspiracy against themselves, said by the chief conspirator to be authorized by the king of Portugal. In 1588, the African Company was incorporated.

The French, we have seen, profess to have been the first traders to the coast of Guinea, and to have always retained their post at the Senegal. Rainolds found in 1591, that they had been there more than thirty years, and were in good repute. The Spaniards, on the contrary, were detested; and as for the Portuguese, "most of them were banished men, or fugitives from justice; men of the basest behavior that he and the rest of the English had ever seen of these nations."

In 1578, the French were trading at Accra, on the Gold Coast. The negroes in the vicinity, at the instigation of the Portuguese, destroyed the town. There was then a standing offer, from the Portuguese to the negroes, of 100 crowns for a Frenchman's head. In 1582, the Portuguese sunk a French ship, and made slaves of all the crew who escaped a watery grave.

There is no account of the Dutch on this coast, till the voyage of *Barent Erickson* in 1595. The Portuguese offered to reward the negroes, if they would kill or betray him. They also offered a reward of 100 florins for the destruction of a Dutch ship. About the same time,



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The Portuguese driven from the Coast.—Dutch Interlopers.—1599—1693.

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a Dutch crew, with the exception of one or two men, was massacred at Cape Coast. Of another crew, three Dutchmen were betrayed by the negroes and made slaves by the Portuguese at Elmina. In 1599, the negroes near Elmina, at the instigation of the Portuguese, inveigled five Dutchmen into their power, beheaded them, and in a few hours made drinking cups of their skulls.

But the English and Dutch continued to crowd in, and the Portuguese, who, after such atrocities, could not coëxist with them on the same coast, were compelled to retire. In 1604, they were driven from all their factories in what is now Liberia. Instead of leaving the country, however, they retreated inland, established themselves there, intermarried with the natives, and engaged in commerce between the more inland tribes and the traders on the coast; making it a special object to prevent the produce of the interior from reaching the coast, except through their hands; and for this purpose they obstructed all efforts of others to explore the country. They traded with the people on the Niger; and one of their mulatto descendants told Villault, in 1666, that they traded along that river as far as Benin.\* Their posterity gradually became merged and lost among the negro population; but the obstruction of intercourse with the interior became the settled policy of those tribes, and has done much to retard the growth of commerce in Liberia.

In other parts the Portuguese held possession some years longer. But the Dutch took their fort at Elmina in 1637, and that at Axim in 1642; after which they were soon expelled from the Gold and Ivory Coasts. Before 1666, they had given place to the Dutch at Cape Mount, and to the English at Sierra Leone. In 1621, the English were trading in the Gambia, and in 1664, built James Fort near its mouth. Here also the Portuguese retired inland and mingled with the natives. Not many years since, some of their descendants were still to be found.

The influence of the English, Dutch and French on the character of the natives, was in some respects different from that of the Portuguese; but whether it was on the whole any better, is a question of some difficulty. Portuguese writers assert that the Dutch gained the favor of the negroes by teaching them drunkenness and other vices; that they became absolute pirates, and seized and held several places on the coast, to which they had no right but that of the strongest.

The Dutch trade was, by law, exclusively in the hands of an incorporated company, having authority to seize and confiscate to its own use, the vessels and cargoes of private traders found on the coast. These private traders, or interlopers, as they were called, were frequently seized by stratagem by the Dutch garrisons on the coast, and treated with great severity. But they provided themselves with fast sailing ships, went well armed and manned, and generally fought to the last man, rather than be taken by the Company's forces. Capt. Phillips, in 1693, found more than a dozen of these interlopers on the coast,

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\* As the Niger was then supposed by Europeans to flow westward and disembogue itself by the Senegal or Gambia, this statement was considered absurd; but since the discovery of the mouth of the Niger in Benin, there is reason to suppose it true. It ought to have led to an earlier discovery of the true course and outlet of that long mysterious river.

and had seen four or five of them at a time lying before Elmina castle for a week together, trading, as it were, in defiance of it.

The English had also their incorporated company, and their private traders. Of the character of the latter, we find no specification which dates in this century. In 1721, there were about thirty of them settled on the "starboard side" of the bay of Sierra Leone. Atkins describes them as "loose, privateering blades, who, if they cannot trade fairly with the natives, will rob. Of these," he says, "John Leadstone, commonly called 'Old Cracker,' is reckoned the most thriving." This man, called Leadstone in Johnson's "History of the Pirates," had been an old buccanier, and kept two or three guns before his door, "to salute his friends the pirates when they put in there." Such, substantially, appears to have been the character of the English "private traders" upon this coast from the beginning. Of the regular traders, English and Dutch, a part, and only a part, seem to have been comparatively decent.

The influence of the Pirates on this coast deserves a distinct consideration.

They appeared there occasionally, as early as the year 1600, and seem to have increased with the increase of commerce. For some years, the piratically disposed appear to have found scope for the indulgence of their propensities among the buccaniers of the West Indies. But after the partial breaking up of the buccaniers in 1688, and still more after their suppression in 1697, they spread themselves over the whole extent of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. The coast of Guinea was one of their principal haunts, and Sierra Leone a favorite resort. They not only plundered at sea, but boldly entered any port where the people, whether native or European, were not strong enough to resist them, and traded there on their own terms. In 1693, Phillips found that the governor of Porto Praya made it a rule never to go on board any ship in the harbor, lest it should prove to be a pirate, and he should be detained till he had furnished a supply of provisions, for which he would be paid by a bill of exchange on some imaginary person in London. Avery, commonly known as "Long Ben," had thus extorted supplies from the governor of St. Thomas, and paid him by a bill on "the pump at Aldgate." At Cape Mesurado, Phillips found a Scotchman, of the crew of Herbert the pirate. The crew had quarrelled, all the rest were killed or afterwards died of their wounds, he ran the brigantine ashore near the Cape, and had since been living among the natives. Capt. Snelgrave arrived at Sierra Leone, April 1, 1719. He found three pirates in the harbor; Cocklyn, Le Bouse and Davis. They had lately taken ten English vessels. His first mate, Jones, betrayed him into their hands. He had with him a royal proclamation, offering pardon to all English pirates who should surrender themselves on or before the first of July. An old buccanier tore it in pieces. They took Snelgrave's vessel for their own use, leaving an inferior one for him, and left the bay about the 29th of the month. Afterwards, he tells us, that more than a hundred vessels fell into the hands of these pirates on the coast of Guinea, and some of the gang did immense damage in the West Indies. A few days after sailing, Davis took the *Princess*, of London, plundered her and let her go; but her

Prevalence of piracy.—1721.

second mate, Roberts, joined him. He landed at Prince's Island, where the Portuguese governor at first favored them, for the sake of their trade, but finally assassinated Davis. The crew then chose Roberts for their Captain, whose exploits were still more atrocious.

The same year, England, the pirate, took an English vessel near Sierra Leone, murdered the captain, Skinner, and gave her to Howell Harris, who, after trial and acquittal, obtained command of a merchant sloop, and turned pirate. Having had "pretty good success" for a while, he attacked St. Jago, in the Cape Verde Islands, but was repulsed. He then took, plundered and destroyed the English fort St. James at the mouth of the Gambia. The fort appears to have been partially rebuilt immediately. In 1721, the African Company sent out the Gambia Castle, Capt. Russel, with a company of soldiers under Maj. Massey, to strengthen it. The new governor, Whitney, had just arrived. Massey, with the assistance of Lowther, second mate, seized both the fort and the ship; and after cruising a while as a pirate, went home, brought on his own trial, and was hanged.

In 1721, Roberts, before mentioned, had become so formidable as to attract the notice of the English government. Two ships of 50 guns each were sent out to capture him. Atkins, surgeon of the squadron, has given an account of the cruise. At Elmina, in January, they found that Roberts had "made a bold sweep" in August, had taken a vessel a few leagues from that place, and had "committed great cruelties." His three ships were well manned, "seamen every where entering with them; and when they refused, it was oftener through fear, than any detestation of the practice." This shows what was then the general character of English seamen in that region, and what influence they must have exerted on the natives. January 15, they reached Whidah. The pirates had just plundered and ransomed eleven ships, and been gone twenty-four hours. They followed on to the south, and by the 12th of February, took all three of their ships; the crew of the last having abandoned it and fled. They found on board about 300 Englishmen, 60 or 70 stout negroes, great plenty of trade goods, and eight or ten thousand pounds of gold dust. The trial of these pirates occupied the court at Cape Coast Castle twenty-six days; 52 were executed there, 74 acquitted, 20 condemned to servitude, and 17 sent to the Marshalsea.

The next year, Capt. George Roberts was taken by three pirates, of whom Edmund Loe was the chief, at the Cape Verde Islands. While there, after Loe had gone, he fell in with Charles Franklin,\* who had been taken some time before by Bartholomew Roberts, a pirate, had

\* This case is mentioned chiefly for the sake of introducing a note.—Franklin says that "these inlanders have a notion that the Bakkaras [whites] have a new world, where they intend to reside, which is inconceivably better than the old; but that there wants so much to be done to it, that it will be many ages before it can be made fit for their reception; that they send all the most valuable things from their old world thither, the labor of which is carried on by the negroes they yearly take out of Guinea; that all those blacks must work and slave very hard, without any intermission or redemption, until the new world is completely fitted up in a very beautiful manner, and the Bakkaras are all settled there. But when that is done, having no farther service for the blacks, they will send them home to inhabit that world, without ever being molested more by the whites, who will never come here again. This happy time they earnestly wish for."

Such was Franklin's statement to Roberts in 1722, published in London in 1725, and now transcribed from a copy printed in 1745. Is not Bakkarau about ready to spare them?

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1680—1730.—Influence of the Pirates.—Character of the Natives.

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escaped from him at Sierra Leone, and taken refuge among the negroes in the interior.

The pirates seem generally to have been content with trading at Sierra Leone, without plundering the people; though Roberts took the place in 1720. They afterwards took permanent possession of the first bay below the Cape, and occupied it for seven years or more, till broken up by an expedition from France in 1730. Hence the place was called "Pirate's Bay," and was so named on British charts.

The moral influence of such a concentration of piracy upon the coast for nearly half a century, cannot be doubtful. The character of pirates, we know, has always been made up of remorseless ferocity, unscrupulous rapacity, and unbridled licentiousness. Perfectly versed in all the vices of civilization, restrained by no moral principle, by no feeling of humanity, by no sense of shame, they landed whenever and almost wherever they pleased upon the whole coast, with forces which it would have been madness to resist, and compelled the inhabitants, whether negro, European or mixed, to become the partners of their revels, the accomplices or dupes of their duplicity, or the victims of their violence. This, added to all the other malign influences at work upon the coast, gave such an education in evil, as probably was never inflicted on any other portion of the human race. A few statements of cotemporary writers may place this matter in a still clearer light. We will confine our remarks to what is now Liberia and its vicinity, where this tempest of evil seems to have fallen with special fury.

Even in the days of Portuguese ascendancy, the Mesurado river was called the Rio Duro, on account of the cruelty of the people.

Dapper, a Dutch writer, whose *Description of Africa* was published about the year 1670, says of the Quoijas, who were predominant from Sierra Leone to the Rio Sestos, that both sexes were extremely licentious, they were great thieves, and much addicted to witchcraft, in practising which they used real poisons. On the death of a chief, it was their practice to strangle one or two female slaves, to bury with him. From the Sestos to Cape Palmas, the people were much the same, but still more adroit at theft, and more addicted to witchcraft and devil-worship.

Barbot, Agent General of the French African Company, was on the coast much of the time from 1680 to 1701. He says that the English had formerly a settlement at Sangwin, but abandoned it, because of the ill temper of the blacks. At Bottowa, they are dexterous thieves, and ought to be well looked to in dealing with them.

Phillips,\* in 1693, at Grand Sesters, thought it unsafe to go up the

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\* Phillips sailed in the employment of the English African Company, and was evidently one of the most humane, conscientious and intelligent voyagers to that coast. He found the people of the Quauca coast, a little beyond Cape Palmas, to be cannibals, as most who visited them also testify. At Secoudee, Johnson, the English factor, had been surprised in the night, cut in pieces and his goods plundered by the negroes, at the instigation of the Dutch. At Whidah, Phillips bought for his two ships, 1,300 slaves. Twelve of them wilfully drowned themselves, and others starved themselves to death. He was advised to cut off the legs and arms of a few, to terrify the rest, as other captains had done; but he could not think of treating with such barbarity, poor creatures, who being equally the work of God's hands, are doubtless as dear to him as the whites. He saw the bodies of several eaten by the sharks which followed his ship. On arriving at Barbadoes, the ship under his immediate command had lost "14 men and 320 negroes." On each dead negro, the African Company lost £10, and the ship lost the freight, £10 10s. He delivered alive 372, who sold, on an average, at about £19. Such was the slave trade, in its least horrible aspect, in 1693.

river eight miles to visit king Peter, hearing that the natives were very treacherous and bloody. The people whom he saw were surly, and looked like villains. Though his ship carried 36 guns, on learning the temper of the people, he immediately cleared for action and left the river.

Snoek was at Cape Mesurado in 1701. Only one negro came on board, and he saw but a few on shore. Two English ships had two months before ravaged their country, destroyed their canoes, plundered their houses, and carried off some of their people.

Bosman was on the coast about the same time. His description of Guinea, written in Dutch and translated into several languages, is one of the best extant. "The negroes," he says, "are all, without exception, crafty, villainous and fraudulent, and very seldom to be trusted; being sure to slip no opportunity of cheating a European, nor indeed one another." The mulattoes, he says, are "a parcel of profligate villains, neither true to the negroes nor us; nor indeed dare they trust one another; so that you rarely see them agree together. Whatever is in its own nature worst in the Europeans and negroes, is united in them." At some place, probably beyond Cape Palmas, he saw eleven human sacrifices at one funeral.

Marchais was at Cape Mesurado in 1724. He says that the English, Dutch and Portuguese writers all unite in representing the natives there as faithless, cunning, revengeful and cruel to the last degree; and he assents to the description. He adds, that "formerly they offered human sacrifices; but this custom has ceased since they found the profit of selling their prisoners of war to foreigners." He gives a map of the Cape, and the plan of a proposed fort on its summit; and thinks it might yield 1,500 or 2,000 slaves annually, besides a large amount of ivory.

At the river Sestos, Marchais witnessed a negro funeral. "The captain or chief of a village dying of a hard drinking bout of brandy, the cries of his wives immediately spread the news through the town. All the women ran there and howled like furies. The favorite wife distinguished herself by her grief, and not without cause." She was watched by the other women, to prevent her escape. The Marbut, or priest, examined the body, and pronounced the death natural—not the effect of witchcraft. Then followed washing the body, and carrying it in procession through the village, with tearing of the hair, howling, and other frantic expressions of grief. "During this, the marbut made a grave, deep and large enough to hold two bodies. He also stripped and skinned a goat. The pluck served to make a ragout, of which he and the assistants ate. He also caused the favorite wife to eat some; who had no great inclination to taste it, knowing it was to be her last. She ate some, however; and during this repast, the body of the goat was divided in small pieces, broiled and eaten. The lamentations began again; and when the marbut thought it was time to end the ceremony, he took the favorite wife by the arms, and delivered her to two stout negroes. These, seizing her roughly, tied her hands and feet behind her, and laying her on her back, placed a piece of wood on her breast. Then, holding each other with their hands on their shoulders, they stamped with their feet on the piece of wood, till

they had broken the woman's breast. Having thus at least half despatched her, they threw her into the grave, with the remainder of the goat, casting her husband's body over her, and filling up the grave with earth and stones. Immediately, the cries ceasing, a quick silence succeeded the noise, and every one retired home as quietly as if nothing had happened."

Smith was sent out by the African Company to survey the coast, in 1726. At Gallinas, in December, he found Benjamin Cross, whom the natives had seized and kept three months, in reprisal for some of their people, who had been seized by the English. Such seizures, he says, were too often practiced by Bristol and Liverpool ships. Cross was ransomed for about £50. At Cape Mount, he found the natives cautious of intercourse, for fear of being seized. At Cape Mesurado, in January, 1727, he saw many of the natives, but not liking to venture on shore, had no discourse with them.

In 1730, Snelgrave, who had been captured by pirates nine years before, was again on the coast. There was then not a single European factory on the whole Windward Coast, and Europeans were "shy of trusting themselves on shore, the natives being very barbarous and uncivilized." He never met a white man who durst venture himself up the country. He mentions the suspicions and revengeful feelings of the natives, occasioned by seizing them for slaves, as a cause of the danger. He, too, witnessed human sacrifices.

Such was the character of what is now Liberia, after 268 years of intercourse with slave traders and pirates.

Meanwhile, nations were treating with each other for the extension of the slave trade. The Genoese at first had the privilege of furnishing the Spanish Colonies with negro slaves. The French next obtained it, and kept it till, according to Spanish official returns, it had yielded them \$204,000,000. In 1713, the British government, by the famous Assiento treaty, secured it for the South Sea Company for thirty years. In 1739, Spain was desirous to take the business into her own hands, and England sold out the remaining four years for £100,000, to be paid in London in three months.\*

From this time to 1791, when the British Parliament began to collect testimony concerning the slave trade, there seems to have been no important change in the influences operating on the coast, or in the character of its inhabitants. The collection and publication of testimony was continued till the passage, in 1807, of the act abolishing the trade. From this testimony, it appeared that nearly all the masters of English ships engaged in that trade, were of the most abandoned character, none too good to be pirates. Their cruelty to their own men was so excessive and so notorious, that crews could never be obtained without great difficulty, and seldom without fraud. Exciting the native tribes to make war on each other for the purpose of obtaining slaves, was a common practice. The Windward Coast, especially, was fast becoming depopulated. The Bassa country, and that on the Mesurado and Junk rivers, were particularly mentioned, as regions

\* *Rees' Cyclopedia*, Art. Assiento. The statement may be slightly inaccurate. The treaty, or "convention" with Spain in 1739, stipulated for the payment of £95,000, and the settlement of certain other claims, the amount of which was still to be ascertained.

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Panyaring.—Piracy.—Liberia Founded.—1791—1823.

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which had suffered in these wars; where the witnesses had seen the ruins of villages, lately surprised and burned in the night, and rice fields unharvested, because their owners had been seized and sold. On other parts of the coast, the slaves were collected and kept for embarkation in factories; but on the Windward Coast, "every tree was a factory," and when the negroes had any thing to sell, they signified it by kindling a fire. Here, also, was the principal scene of "panyaring;" that is, of enticing a negro into a canoe, or other defenceless situation, and then seizing him. The extent of this practice may be inferred from the fact, that it had a name, by which it was universally known. A negro was hired to panyar a fine girl, whom an English captain desired to possess. A few days after, he was panyared himself, and sold to the same captain. "What!" he exclaimed,— "buy me, a great trader?" "Yes," was the reply,— "we will buy any of you, if any body will sell you." It was given in evidence, that business could not be transacted, if the buyer were to inquire into the title of those from whom he bought. Piracy, too, added its horrors whenever the state of the world permitted, and, as we shall have occasion to show, was rampant when Liberia was founded.

Factories, however, were gradually re-established and fortified; but not till the slave trade had nearly depopulated the coast, and thus diminished the danger. Two British subjects, Bostock and McQuinn, had one at Cape Mesurado. In June, 1813, His Majesty's ship *Thais* sent forty men on shore, who, after a battle in which one of their number was killed, entered the factory and captured its owners. French, and especially Spanish factories, had become numerous.

A large proportion, both of the slave ships and factories, were piratical. By the laws of several nations, the trade was prohibited, and ships engaged in it liable to capture. They therefore prepared to defend themselves. The general peace which followed the downfall of Napoleon, left many privateers and their crews out of employment, and they engaged at once in piracy and the slave trade. In 1818, Lord Castlereagh communicated to the ambassadors of the leading powers of Europe, a list of eighteen armed slavers lately on the coast, of five vessels taken and destroyed by them, and of several battles with others; and these were mentioned only as specimens.

The natives, notwithstanding the evils which the slave trade inflicted upon them, were infatuated with it. In 1821, the agents of the Colonization Society attempted to purchase a tract for their first settlement at Grand Bassa. The only obstacle was, the refusal of the people to make any concession towards an abandonment of that traffic. In December of that year, a contract with that indispensable condition was made for Cape Mesurado. The first colonists took possession, January 7, 1822. In November of the same year, and again in December, the natives attacked the Colony in great numbers, and with an obstinate determination to exterminate the settlers and renew the trade at that accustomed spot. In April and May, 1823, Mr. Ashmun, governor of the Colony, went on business along the coast about 150 miles, to Settra Kroo. "One century ago," he remarks, "a great part of this line of coast was populous, cleared of trees, and under cultivation. It is now covered with a dense and almost continuous forest. This is

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1823—1827.—Depopulation and Demoralization of the Country.

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almost wholly a second growth; commonly distinguished from the original by the profusion of brambles and brushwood, which abounds amongst the larger trees, and renders the woods entirely impervious, even to the natives, until paths are opened by the bill-hook."

In May, 1825, Mr. Ashmun purchased for the colony, a fine tract on the St. Paul's. Of this he says: "Along this beautiful river were formerly scattered, in Africa's better days, innumerable native hamlets; and till within the last twenty years, nearly the whole river board, for one or two miles back, was under that slight culture which obtains among the natives of this country. But the population has been wasted by the rage for trading in slaves, with which the constant presence of slaving vessels and the introduction of foreign luxuries have inspired them. The south bank of this river, and all the intervening country between it and the Mesurado, have been from this cause, nearly desolated of inhabitants. A few detached and solitary plantations, scattered at long intervals through the tract, just serve to interrupt the silence and relieve the gloom which reigns over the whole region."

The moral desolation, he found to be still more complete. He writes: "The two slaving stations of Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado have, for several ages, desolated of every thing valuable, the intervening very fertile and beautiful tract of country. The forests have remained untouched, all moral virtue has been extinguished in the people, and their industry annihilated, by this one ruinous cause." "Polygamy and domestic slavery, it is well known, are as universal as the scanty means of the people will permit. And a licentiousness of practice which none—not the worst part of any civilized community on earth—can parallel, gives a hellish consummation to the frightful deformity imparted by sin to the moral aspect of these tribes." "The emigrants, from the hour of their arrival in Africa, are acted upon by the vitiating example of the natives of this country. The amount and effects of this influence, I fear, are generally and egregiously underrated. It is not known to every one, how little difference can be perceived in the measure of intellect possessed by an ignorant rustic from the United States, and a sprightly native of the coast. It may not be easily credited, but the fact certainly is, that the advantage is, oftenest, on the side of the latter. The sameness of color, and the corresponding characteristics to be expected in different portions of the same race, give to the example of the natives a power and influence over the colonists, as extensive as it is corrupting. For it must not be suppressed, however the fact may be at variance with the first impressions from which most African journalists have allowed themselves to sketch the character of the natives, that it is vicious and contaminating in the last degree. I have often expressed my doubt, whether the simple idea of moral justice, as we conceive it from the early dawn of reason, has a place in the thoughts of a pagan African. As a principle of practical morality, I am sure that no such sentiment obtains in the breast of five Africans within my acquaintance. A selfishness which prostrates every consideration of another's good; a habit of dishonest dealing, of *which nothing short of unceasing, untiring vigilance can avert the consequences; an unlimited indulgence of the appetites; and the*



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King Boatswain.—Spanish Pirates.—1823—1826.

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labored excitement\* and unbounded gratification of lust the most unbridled and beastly—these are the ingredients of the African character. And however revolting, however, on occasion, concealed by an assumed decency of demeanor, such is the common character of all."

This last extract was dated May 20, 1827, when Mr. Ashmun had been nearly five years in Africa, and in the most favorable circumstances for learning the truth.

And this horrid work was still going on. In August, 1823, Mr. Ashmun wrote :—" I wish to afford the Board a full view of our situation, and of the African character. The following incident I relate, not for its singularity, for similar events take place, perhaps, every month in the year; but because it has fallen under my own observation, and I can vouch for its authenticity. King Boatswain received a quantity of goods in trade from a French slaver, for which he stipulated to pay young slaves. He makes it a point of honor to be punctual to his engagements. The time was at hand when he expected the return of the slaver. He had not the slaves. Looking round on the peaceable tribes about him, for her victims, he singled out the Queahs, a small agricultural and trading people, of most inoffensive character. His warriors were skillfully distributed to the different hamlets, and making a simultaneous assault on the sleeping occupants, in the dead of night, accomplished, without difficulty or resistance, the annihilation, with the exception of a few towns, of the whole tribe. Every adult man and woman was murdered; very young children generally shared the fate of their parents; the boys and girls alone were reserved to pay the Frenchman."

King Boatswain was not such an untaught barbarian as some may suppose. He began life without hereditary rank, served in the British Navy till he attained the rank of boatswain, and afterwards gradually rose among his own people by his superior intelligence and force of character. In September, 1824, he seized 86 more of the Queahs.

In August, 1825, the Clarida, a Spanish slaver connected with the factory at Digby, a little north of the St. Paul's, plundered an English brig at anchor in Monrovia harbor. Mr. Ashmun, with 22 volunteers, and the captain of the brig with about an equal force, broke up the factory, and released the slaves confined in it. A French and a Spanish factory, both within five miles of Monrovia, uniting their interests with the Clarida, were soon after broken up, and their slaves released. The French factory had kidnapped, or purchased of kidnappers, some of the colonists, and attempted to hold them as slaves.

In 1826, the Minerva, a Spanish slaver, connected with some or all of the three factories at Trade town, had committed piracy on several American and other vessels, and obtained possession of several of the colonists. At the suggestion of Mr. Ashmun, she was captured by the Dragon, a French brig of war, and condemned at Goree. The factories at Trade town bought eight of the colonists, who had been "panyared," and refused to deliver them up on demand. In April, Mr. Ashmun, assisted by two Columbian armed vessels, landed, broke

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\* Of this, in respect to both sexes, we might have produced disgusting testimony, more than a century old, relating especially to this part of the coast. In this, as in other things, their character had evidently undergone no essential change.

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1826—1841.—Massacre at Bassa Cove.—Attack on Heddington.

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up the factories, and released the slaves. The natives, under King West, then rose in defence of the slavers, and made it necessary to burn Trade town. The Colonial government then publicly prohibited the trade on the whole line of coast, over which it assumed a qualified jurisdiction, from Cape Mount to Trade town. In July, a combination to restore Trade town was formed by several piratical vessels and native chiefs. July 27, the brig John of Portland and schooner Bona of Baltimore, at anchor in Monrovia harbor, were plundered by a piratical brig of twelve guns, which then proceeded to Gallinas and took in 600 slaves.

“The slave trade,” Mr. Ashmun wrote about this time, “is the pretext under which expensive armaments are fitted out every week from Havana, and desperadoes enlisted for enterprises to this country; in which, on their arrival, the trade is either forgotten entirely, or attended to as a mere secondary object, well suited to conceal from cruisers they may fall in with, their real object. Scarcely an American trading vessel has for the last twelve months been on this coast, as low as six degrees north, without suffering either insult or plunder from these Spaniards.”

The batteries for the protection of Monrovia harbor were immediately strengthened, the Trade town combination was of short continuance, and the growth of the Colony soon changed the character, both of the coast and its visitors.

Would the non-resistance policy of William Penn have succeeded better? It has been tried. The Pennsylvania Colonization Society commenced an unarmed settlement at Bassa Cove, about the end of the year 1834. King Joe Harris sold them land to settle upon, and professed to be their cordial friend. In a few months, a slaver arrived. Harris had slaves for sale; but the slaver would not trade, so near a settlement of Americans. This finished the temptation which Harris had already begun to feel. He fell upon the settlement in the dead of night, killed about twenty of the colonists, and while the remainder fled to save their lives, plundered their houses. A singular fact shows that he was not only fully and minutely acquainted with their peaceful character, but that he was encouraged by it to make the attack. One of the colonists owned a musket, and another sometimes borrowed it; so that Harris could not know in which of their houses it might then happen to be. He therefore refrained from attacking either of those houses.

Would purely missionary establishments be more secure? This also has been tried. The Methodist station at Heddington, on the south bank of the St. Pauls', about 20 miles from Monrovia, was of that character. Gatumba, king of those lately known here as Mendians, and whose strong hold was about two days' march north east from Monrovia, had in his employ, Goterah, a cannibal warrior from the interior, who, with his band of mercenary desperadoes, had desolated many native towns, and taken hosts of slaves for his employer to sell. He was evidently a remnant of the Giagas. One night in 1841, he made an attack on Heddington. His threats, to plunder the *mission property*, take the children in school for slaves, and eat the *missionary*, had been reported at Heddington, and arms had been procur-

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Cape Palmas Missionaries in danger.—1842—1844.

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ed for defence. After an obstinate contest, Goterah was shot, while rushing, sword in hand, into the mission-house. His followers were soon seized with a panic, and fled. Among the camp equipage which they left, was a kettle, which Goterah had brought with him, to boil the missionary in for his breakfast.

The experiment was tried again. The Episcopal missionaries at Cape Palmas imagined that the peace and safety in which they had been able to live and labor for several years, were in no degree owing to colonial protection; and they resolved to act accordingly. They commenced a station at Half Cavally, about 13 miles east of the Cape, among the natives, but within the territory of the Colony; another at Rockbokah, about eight miles farther east, and beyond the limits of the colonial territory; and another at Taboo, some 17 miles beyond Rockbokah. In 1842, some of the natives near these last named stations seized the schooner *Mary Carver*, of Salem, murdered the captain and crew, and plundered the vessel. The perpetrators of this outrage soon became known to Mr. Minor at Taboo, and Mr. Appleby at Rockbokah. To guard against exposure and enrich themselves, the chiefs entered into a conspiracy to kill the missionaries and plunder their premises. The missionaries, being aware of the design, were on their guard, and its execution was deferred to a more convenient opportunity, and, as Mr. Appleby supposed, was at length abandoned. Meanwhile, Mr. Minor died. The natives within the colonial territory agreed to force the colonists to pay higher prices for provisions, and prepared for war. Early in December, 1843, Mr. Payne, at Half Cavally, finding himself surrounded by armed natives, from whom his life and the lives of his family were in danger, sent to Cape Palmas for rescue. When his messenger arrived, the U. S. squadron had just come in sight. A vessel was immediately sent for his relief. A force was landed, he and his family were escorted to the shore, taken on board and conveyed to Cape Palmas. On proceeding eastward, to punish the murderers of the crew of the *Mary Carver*, the squadron took off Mr. Appleby from his dangerous position at Rockbokah. The presence of the squadron soon induced the natives to make peace with the colony; but for several weeks it was supposed that the Cavally station could never be safely resumed. The school at Rockbokah is still continued, under a native teacher, and perhaps Mr. Appleby may yet return to it, as the natives think that his presence will be, in some degree, a pledge of peace.

We may then consider it as proved by facts of the plainest significance, that up to the commencement of this present year, 1844, unarmed men, whether colonists or missionaries, white or black, native or immigrant, could not live safely in that part of the world without colonial protection.

## PART III.

## Missionary Labors in Western Africa, and their Results.

Perhaps a clearer light may be thrown upon the subject, by a connected view of the various attempts that have been made, to introduce civilization and Christianity into Guinea. It need occupy but little space, as the history of far the greater part of them records only the attempts and their failure.

The Portuguese, we have seen, commenced and prosecuted their discoveries under authority from the Pope, to conquer and convert all unbelievers from Cape Bojador to India. We have seen, too, what a pompous commencement they made at Elmina. Their establishments were at one time numerous along the whole coast of Upper Guinea, and as far north as Arguin. It is said that they every where had chapels, and made efforts at proselytism. The language of historians seems to imply that even the Portuguese mulattoes, when driven inland from the Grain Coast in 1604, built chapels in the interior, and strove to make proselytes. In Congo, they put their candidate on the throne by force of arms, and thus converted the nation. In Upper Guinea, they converted a few, and but a few; as the negroes generally would neither give up polygamy, nor submit to auricular confession. In 1607, Dapper states that the Jesuits found some on the Rio Grande who were willing to receive baptism, but not being prepared for it, it was deferred. The same year, he tells us, the Jesuit Bareira baptized the king of Sierra Leone, his family, and several others. He adds, about 1670, "the king still receives baptism, but practises idolatry to please his subjects." According to Bareira's own account, king Philip, whom he baptized, was a hundred years old, and was one of the Cumbas. He professes to have made a more favorable impression on the natives, because he did not engage in the slave trade and other branches of commerce, as all former priests there had done. Labat informs us, that in 1666, Don Philip, a Christian, reigned at Burrè, on the south side of the Sierra Leone river, and kept a Jesuit and a Portuguese Capuchin, who preached Christianity, but without effect. Villault, however, says, the same year, that "the Portuguese settled here have made many converts." Barbot asserts that the Portuguese had converted many in Bulm; that is, many of the Bulloms, on the north of the river. The truth seems to be, that they persuaded a considerable number of individuals to receive baptism, but made no general impression upon the people; so that Labat, himself a missionary, considered their attempt a failure. As to the character of their converts, his Don Philip, keeping a Jesuit and a Capuchin to preach Christianity, and yet practising idolatry to please his subjects, is doubtless a fair sample. In 1721, one native of some consequence, nine miles up the river, is mentioned as a Romanist. He had been baptized in Portugal. The expedition for the conversion of the Jaloffis, *we have seen*, was defeated by the assassination of Bemoi. Still, they *made some converts* in that quarter. But every where north of Congo,

their converts seem to have been confined almost wholly to the dependents on their trading houses; and when these were given up, their religion soon disappeared.

The French missions, so far as we have been able to discover, commenced in 1635, when five Capuchins were sent to the mouth of the Assinee. In a short time, and before they accomplished any thing, three of them died, and the other two retired to Axim. In 1636, several Capuchins of Normandy were sent as missionaries to Cape Verde, one of whom had the title of prefect; "but they left the country, because they could not live in it." In 1674, another company of Capuchins attempted a mission, probably somewhere on the Ivory or Gold Coast; but nothing is known of its results. In 1687, father Gonsalvez, a Dominican, on his way to India, stopped at Assinee, and left father Henry Cerizier, with a house and six slaves, to commence a mission. Cerizier died in a few months. In 1700, father Loyer, who had been sometime in the West Indies, was nominated by the Propaganda and appointed by the Pope, as Apostolic Prefect of Missions in Guinea. He embarked at Rochelle, April 18, 1701, having with him father Jaques Villard as a missionary, and Aniaba, who, he says, had been given to Gonsalvez by Zenan, king of Assinee, and educated and baptized in France. The European Mercury announced his baptism in the following paragraph:—

"Here is another pagan prince brought over to the Christian faith;—namely, Lewis Hannibal, king of Syria, on the Gold Coast of Africa; who, after being a long time instructed in the Christian principles, and baptized by the bishop of Meaux, the king being his godfather, received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper on the 27th of February, from the Cardinal de Noailles, and offered at the same time a picture of the Blessed Virgin, to whose protection he submitted his territory; having made a vow, at his return thither, to use his utmost endeavors towards the conversion of his subjects."

On arriving at Grand Sesters, Aniaba went on shore, and, Loyer says, "lived eight days among the negresses, in a way which edified nobody." They touched on the Quaqua coast, and found the people to be cannibals, eating negroes frequently, and all the white men they could get into their possession. June 25, they reached the Assinee. After a short negotiation for the ground, a fort was built near the eastern shore of the river, at its mouth, and a garrison left for its defence. Aniaba proved worthless. The mission accomplished nothing. Loyer left in 1703. The garrison found it difficult to maintain itself against repeated attacks, and in 1705 the whole establishment was given up.

Who this Aniaba really was, is a matter of some uncertainty. In France, he was certainly represented as the son of Zenan, king of the Assinees, sent thither for education; and in this character, he served for a while as a captain in the French cavalry. Loyer, writing after his disappointment, and with evident mortification, merely represents him as one whom Zenan had given to Gonsalvez. Bosman, to whom we are indebted for the extract from the Mercury, says that he was originally a slave among the Assinees; that a Frenchman obtained possession of him and carried him home, intending to keep him for a valet; that he had shrewdness enough to gull French bishops and car-

1659—1723.—Roman Catholic Mission.

dinals into the belief of his royal descent; and that on his return, he was forced back into the service of his old Assinee master.

Loyer, while there, made some missionary efforts. On one occasion, in the presence of the natives, he broke a fetish into a thousand pieces, trod it under his feet, and then cast it into the fire. They all fled, saying that the lightning would blast him, or the earth swallow him up. Seeing that he remained unharmed, they said it was because he did not believe; on which he exhorted them to be unbelievers too. But his exhortations were in vain. His English editor asks,—“How would he have liked to have had one of his own fetishes so treated? A negro, or a Protestant, would be put to death for such an offence in most popish countries.” Villault, in 1667, had used the same argument on the Gold Coast, and as he thought, with more success. He broke the negroes’ fetishes, and told them to sign themselves with the cross, and the fetish could not hurt them. Many came to him and exchanged their fetishes for crucifixes, which they evidently regarded as only stronger fetishes.

Loyer represents the negroes as trickish and subtle, great liars and thieves, “the most deceitful and ungrateful people in the universe.”

The first Spanish mission to this part of the world, so far as we can learn, was commenced in 1652, when fifteen Capuchins were sent to Sierra Leone. Twelve of them were taken prisoners by the Portuguese, who were then at war with Spain. The other three are said to have converted some of the people, baptized some of their princes, and built churches in some of their chief towns. They were reinforced in 1657, and again in 1664. In 1723, the Pope’s nuncio in Spain announced that the mission was extinct. In 1659, certain Capuchins of Castile attempted a mission at Ardra, on the Slave Coast; but they soon gave it up, on finding that the king only pretended to turn Christian, for the sake of encouraging trade with Spain.

We find no mention of any other Roman Catholic mission in Upper Guinea, till the late attempt at Cape Palmas. From the formal commencement of the mission at Elmina, in 1482, eleven years after the complete discovery of the coast, to the abandonment of Sierra Leone, in 1723, was 241 years of Roman Catholic missionary effort. After so long a trial, and for the greater part of the time in the most favorable circumstances for the missionaries, the religion of *Guinea* proved too strong an antagonist for the religion of *Rome*. What little impression they made on a few of their dependents, was soon effaced, and Romanism in Guinea has long since ceased to exist. A boastful view of Romanism and its missions, in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* for June, 1839, claims no mission in all Western Africa, nor any Catholics, except in the French settlement on the Senegal, any where between Congo and Morocco. Probably, however, they might claim the inmates of a small Portuguese trading house or two, somewhere about the mouth of the Rio Grande.

Of the Dutch, we only find reason to believe that they made some slight attempts to proselyte the negroes immediately around their castles and trading houses. The Portuguese say that the negroes, “being barbarians, readily enough swallowed Calvin’s poison;” the meaning of which doubtless is, that the Dutch taught them to despise

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Moravian Missions.—Sierra Leone.—Capt Beaver.—1736—1792.

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popery. Artus mentions attempts of Dutch residents to instruct them, and speaks of one who had been so instructed by a monk at Elmina, that he was able to quote Scripture in reply. Bosman, a sturdy Dutch Protestant, says that if it were possible to convert them, the Romanists would stand the best chance for success; because they already agree with them in several particulars, especially in their ridiculous ceremonies, their abstinence from certain kinds of food at certain times, their reliance on antiquity, and the like. The negroes, seem to have reasoned differently, and to have thought so small a change not worth the making. Bosman's remark, however, shows that the Dutch accomplished but little among them.

The Moravians were the first Protestants who seriously undertook the work of missions in Guinea. In 1736, they sent out two missionaries, one of whom was a mulatto, born in that country. His colleague soon died, and he returned. Their efforts were resumed from time to time, till 1770. In all, five distinct efforts were made, and eleven missionaries sent out. The mulatto accompanied several of the expeditions, and died in 1769. The other ten all died in Guinea, before they had been there long enough to be useful. Probably, all these attempts were on the Gold Coast.

Of English efforts to civilize or evangelize Western Africa, we find no notice till 1787, when a colony of free blacks from America was commenced at Sierra Leone. The land on which they settled was purchased of the natives, who soon after attempted to drive them off or exterminate them. When visited in 1789, half their number had perished by violence or disease, and the remainder had taken refuge on Bance Island. In 1791 and 1792, the colony was reinforced by 1,200 blacks from Jamaica, who had at first settled in Nova Scotia, but found the climate too cold for them. The history of this colony is marked by an almost uninterrupted series of gross blunders and mismanagement; but being a well meant enterprise, mainly on right principles, and sustained with true English pertinacity, it has continued to grow, and has been of immense value to Africa. For twenty years it watched the operations of the British slave trade, and furnished much of the information which induced the British Parliament to abolish it in 1807. And when that act had been passed, it could have been little else than a dead letter, had there not been a rendezvous for the squadron, a seat for Courts of Admiralty, and a receptacle for recaptured Africans, at Sierra Leone. But for this colonization of Africa with the civilized descendants of Africans, that act might never have been passed, and if passed, must have been nearly inoperative.

In 1792, an attempt was made to promote civilization in Africa by a colony of whites, of which Capt. Beaver, an officer in the expedition, afterwards published an account, which we have not been able to obtain. We only learn that the attempt was made by a "philanthropic association" in England; that they sent out three ships, with 275 colonists; that they commenced a settlement on Bulama Island, near the mouth of the Rio Grande; that they employed only the free labor of colonists and hired negroes; that they suffered much from the African fever, many died, others returned, and in two years the colony was extinct.

1795—1815.—English Missions.

In 1795, several English families went to Sierra Leone, for the purpose of establishing a mission among the Foulahs; but after arriving in Africa and considering the obstacles, they returned without commencing their labors.

In 1797, the Edinburgh Missionary Society sent out two missionaries, who commenced a mission among the Soosos on the Rio Pongas; the Glasgow Society sent out two, who commenced on the Island of Bananas; and the London Society two, who began among the Bulloms. In 1800, one of them, Mr. Brunton, returned, enfeebled by disease; but afterwards engaged in a mission at Karass near the Caspian Sea. Mr. Greig, his colleague, had been murdered by a party of Foulahs. The other four had fallen victims to the climate.

The Church Missionary Society, then called the "Society for Missions in Africa and the East," sent out its first missionaries in 1804. They were Germans; for, after several years of effort, no English missionaries could be procured. Two years before, the Sierra Leone Company had been seeking five years in vain for a chaplain. The missionaries arrived at Sierra Leone, April 14. A subsequent Report states, that they would have been instructed to commence their labors in the colony, had there not been obstacles to their usefulness there, of the nature of which we are not informed. As it was, they resided in the colony, and sought for stations beyond its borders. In 1806, two others were sent out, one of whom, Mr. Nylander, was induced to serve as chaplain of the colony, which he continued to do till 1812. These two last were accompanied by William Fantimani, the son of a chief at Rio Pongas, educated at Clapham. The Report for 1808 informs us, that the missionaries had continued their search for stations out of the colony, but had every where been met by insurmountable obstacles. That year, however, in March, they were able to commence two stations on the Rio Pongas, Fantimania and Bashia. Fantimania in a short time was found impracticable. It was abandoned, and a new station commenced at Canoffee. In 1809, two others were sent out, one of whom soon died. One of the older brethren also died. In 1811, two more were sent out. In 1812, three mechanics were sent out. Mr. Nylander resigned his chaplaincy, and commenced a new station among the Bulloms. In the autumn, the chiefs on the Rio Pongas held a palaver, in relation to sending the missionaries out of the country, on the pretence that their presence injured the trade, that is, the slave trade. In 1813, two of the mechanics and the wife of one of them died. Troubles with the natives continued. In 1814, they suffered much from sickness. The other mechanic and the widow of another died. The opposition of the natives increased. A new station was commenced on the Rio Dembia, and called Gambier. Mr. Klein, the missionary, finding no prospect of usefulness, removed to the Isles de Los, staid there half a year, and meeting insurmountable opposition, removed to Kapuru, on the continent, among the Bagoes. These events may have extended into the next year. Their attention was now turning to the colony. In 1815, seven male and female missionaries and two educated natives were sent out. Four of the seven, *two of their children*, and two of the older members of the mission *died*. In January, the three principal buildings at Bashia, with the



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English Mission.—1816—1844.

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libraries, were burned by the natives. Mr. Hughes and his wife, one of the seven above mentioned, set out for home to save her life; but stopped at Goree, as she was unable to proceed. Here her health improved, and they opened a school. In 1816, four teachers with their wives were sent out. The Rev. Edward Bickersteth, Assistant Secretary, visited the mission. He thought the colony, which now contained 9,000 or 10,000 inhabitants, most of whom were recaptured Africans, the most promising field of usefulness. The "Christian Institution" had already a goodly number of pupils, and they were erecting extensive buildings for its permanent accommodation. Governor Mac Carthy wrote:—"I conceive that the first effectual step towards the establishment of Christianity, will be found in the division of this peninsula into parishes, appointing to each a clergyman to instruct his flock in Christianity, and enlightening their minds to the various duties and advantages inherent to civilization; thus making Sierra Leone the base, from whence future exertions may be extended, step by step, to the very interior of Africa." The division into parishes was in progress. Bashia was given up. Preaching was commenced at Lissa and Jesulu, near Canoffee. A chapel was built at Lissa. In 1817, the troubles from the natives continued to increase. The Society announced its expectation of being compelled to abandon all its stations beyond the limits of the colony. In 1818, February 16, the missionaries, in a general meeting at Freetown, decided to withdraw from the Rio Pongas. Those stations were accordingly abandoned. It was also found necessary to retire from Yongroo, among the Bulloms, though only seven miles from Freetown, the capital of the colony. Goree was restored to the French, and the station abandoned. July 14, a proclamation in the Sierra Leone Gazette announced the occupation of the Isles de Los, as British Territory. Mr. Klein was appointed pastor there, closed his station among the Bagoes, and entered upon the duties of his office. The Society had now no station beyond the limits of the colony. It was intimated, that their relinquishment might be only temporary; but it has never yet been found advisable to renew them.

According to the latest accounts, this mission now has 14 stations, 62 laborers, 1,275 communicants, 6,086 attendants on public worship, and 5,475 pupils in its schools. One of these stations is at Port Lokkoh, in the Timmanee country; but whether in that part of the country which has been fully ceded to the colony, or that which is merely in a state of dependent alliance, we have not been able to ascertain.

The English Wesleyan mission in the colony, which was commenced about the year 1817, reports 2,371 members, 23 paid teachers, and 1,462 pupils. The Wesleyans have also stations at the British posts on the Gambia and Gold and Slave Coasts. Supported by the latter, they are attempting an inland station among the Ashantees; but the result is yet very doubtful.

Some passages in the works from which these facts have been gathered, seem to refer to still other attempts to enlighten Western Africa; but if there were others, they came to an end so soon and so fruitlessly, as to leave no record that has reached us.

American attempts—with the exception of one or two private efforts, which led to no results—commenced with the planting of Liberia, in 1822. Their history is before the public in various forms, and need not be repeated here. They have led to the establishment of two civilized republics, the planting of nearly thirty Christian churches, and the conversion and civilization of hundreds of the natives; besides all that they have done for the suppression of piracy and the slave trade, and the general improvement of that part of the world.

## PART IV.

### Recapitulation.—Conclusion.

Such have been the leading facts in respect to Western Africa from the time of Ibn Haukal to the present day,—about nine centuries. From the first purchase of negro slaves by Portuguese voyagers, has been 402 years; from the first discovery of the negro country by the Portuguese, 397 years; from the discovery of Cape Mesurado, 382 years; and from the complete exploration of the coast of Upper Guinea, 373 years; and this, even if we reject the accounts of the French, who profess to have had trading posts where Liberia now is, 498 years ago. At our earliest dates, the natives were idolaters of the grossest kind, polygamists, slave holders, slave traders, kidnappers, offerers of human sacrifices, and some of them cannibals. For four centuries, or five if we receive the French account, they have been in habits of constant intercourse with the most profligate, the most licentious, the most rapacious, and in every respect the vilest and most corrupting classes of men to be found in the civilized world,—with slave traders, most of whom were pirates in every thing but courage, and many of whom committed piracy whenever they dared,—and with pirates in the fullest sense of the word. Before the year 1600, the influence of these men had been sufficient to displace the native languages in the transaction of business, and substitute the Portuguese, which was generally understood and used in their intercourse with foreigners; and since that time, the Portuguese has been in like manner displaced by the English. By this intercourse, the natives were constantly stimulated to crimes of the deepest dye, and thoroughly trained to all the vices of civilization which savages are capable of learning. During the most fearful predominance of undisguised piracy, from 1688 to 1730, their demoralization went on, especially upon the Windward Coast, more rapidly than ever before, and became so intense, that it was impossible to maintain trading houses on shore; so that, on this account, as we are expressly informed, in 1730, there was not a single European factory on that whole coast. Trade was then carried on by ships passing along the coast, and stopping wherever the natives kindled a fire as a signal for traffic. And this continued to be the usual mode of intercourse on that coast, when the British Parliament, in 1791, began to collect evidence concerning the slave trade. Nor were

## Recapitulation.

factories re-established there, till the slave trade and its attendant vices had diminished the danger by depopulating the country.

It appears, too, that nothing has ever impeded or disturbed the constant flow of this bad influence, but Colonization and its consequences. The Colony of Sierra Leone was planted, as a means of resisting and ultimately suppressing the slave trade. The testimony which it collected and furnished during twenty years of labor and suffering, was the principal means of inducing the British Parliament to pass the act of 1807, abolishing that traffic. From that time to the present, it has rendered indispensable assistance in all that has been done to enforce that act. Through its influence, the slave trade is suppressed, slavery itself is abolished, and a Christian and civilized negro community\* of 40,000 or 50,000 persons is established, on the territory which it controls. Liberia, only about one third as old, has expelled slave traders and pirates from 300 miles of coast, with the exception of a single point, brought a native population of 10,000 or 15,000, by their own consent, under the protection and control of a civilized republican government which does not tolerate slavery, and brought from 60,000 to 100,000 more to renounce the slave trade and other barbarous usages. Still later, another British settlement of recaptured Africans on the Gambia has begun to do the same good work in that region. Beyond Cape Palmas, a few British, Dutch and Danish forts overawe the natives in their immediate vicinity, and one of them protects a mission. Elsewhere, the work is not even begun.

The summary of Christian missions without Colonization may be given in a few words. The Roman Catholics come first. Omitting the French statement, of a chapel built at Elmina in 1387, let us begin with the Portuguese mission at that place, in 1482. Romish missions continued till that of the Spanish Capuchins at Sierra Leone was given up in 1723, which was 241 years. They made no impression, except upon their immediate dependents; and what they made, was soon totally obliterated. Their stations were numerous, along the whole coast; but every vestige of their influence has been gone, for many generations.

Protestant missionary attempts were commenced by the Moravians in 1736, 108 years ago, and continued till 1770. Five attempts cost eleven lives, and effected nothing. The account of them scarce fills a page in Crantz's "History of the Brethren."

English attempts have been more numerous. That of Capt. Beaver at Bulama Island, in 1792, does not appear to have been distinctively of a missionary character, though it must have contemplated the introduction and diffusion of Christianity, as one of its results and means of success. It failed in two years, and with the loss of more than 100 lives. The mission to the Foulahs, in 1795, found, when at Sierra Leone, insuperable obstacles to success, and returned without commencing its labors. The three stations commenced by the London, Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies in 1797, were extinct, and five of

\* That is, Christian and civilized in respect to the character of its government and institutions, and the predominant character of the people; though multitudes of the inhabitants, but lately rescued from the holds of slave ships, are just beginning to learn what Christianity and civilization are.

## Recapitulation.

the six missionaries dead, in 1800. The Church Missionary Society sent out its first missionaries in 1804; but it was four years before they could find a place out of the Colony, where they could commence their labors. They established and attempted to maintain ten stations, viz. Fantimania, Bashia, Canoffee, Lissa and Jesulu, on or near the Rio Pongas, Gambier on the Rio Dembia, Gambier on the Isles de Los, Gambier among the Bagoes, Goree, and Yongroo among the Buloms. Goree was given up to the French and abandoned. The hostility of the natives, who preferred the slave traders to them, drove the missionaries from the other nine, and forced them to take refuge in the Colony of Sierra Leone, the only place where they could labor with safety and with hope. Here, without counting Sierra Leone and Goree, are eighteen Protestant missionary attempts before the settlement of Liberia, all of which failed from the influence of the climate and the hostility of the natives. Since the settlement of Liberia, attempts to sustain missions without colonial protection have been made at Half Cavally, within the territorial limits of Cape Palmas, and at Rockbohah and Taboo, in its immediate vicinity, and within the reach of its constant influence. The result has been already stated. The mission of the Presbyterian Board has been removed to Settra Kroo, about seventeen miles from the Mississippi settlement at Sinou. Death has reduced its numbers to a single widow, who teaches a school. As the Kroos have bound themselves by their late treaty with the Liberian government, "to foster and protect the American missionaries;" and as the mission is placed where no hostile act can long be concealed from that government, it may be regarded as safe under colonial protection. The mission of the American Board has been removed from Cape Palmas, about 1,250 miles, to the River Gaboon, in Lower Guinea, and placed among a people, whom the missionaries represent as much superior to any within the region embraced in these researches. Its labors here commenced in July, 1842. It is yet uncertain, therefore, whether it will be able to maintain its ground, even as long as did the English mission at the Rio Pongas. An attempt, the success of which is yet doubtful, to establish a "Mendi Mission," between Sierra Leone and Liberia, where the vicinity of both those colonies will diminish the danger; two or three English Wesleyan stations, protected by the British Forts on the Gold and Slave Coasts; the missions in South Africa, most of which are within the Cape Colony, and the remainder among tribes under its influence and deriving safety from its power; an attempt to open intercourse with the nominal Christians of Abyssinia; a small English mission to the Copts at Cairo, and still smaller French mission at Algiers,—if this last still exists,—complete the list, so far as we can learn, of Protestant missionary attempts on the continent of Africa. To these, add the attempt of Capt. Beaver and others to promote civilization by a colony of Englishmen at Bulama Island in 1792, and the late disastrous Niger Expedition of the British government, and we have the sum total of Protestant expeditions for the improvement of African character.

The failure of the Niger expedition prostrates for the present, and probably forever, the hope which it was intended to realize; the hope of opening an intercourse with the less demoralized nations of the inte-

Recapitulation.

rior, by ascending that river. It has shown that we must reach the countries on the Niger from the west, by the route pointed out by Gen. Harper in 1817, and followed by the Portuguese mulattoes in 1660. Of all Atlantic ports, Monrovia is probably the nearest to the boatable waters of the Niger. The Atlantic termination of the route must be somewhere from Liberia to Sierra Leone, inclusive. Nor is there any reason to hope that this route can ever be made available for any purpose of practical utility, till Colonization has, in a good degree, civilized the country through which it must pass. We must begin by civilizing and Christianizing the population on the coast.\*

\* If any are alarmed at the supposed expensiveness of our enterprise, we would suggest to them, in the first place, that the thought of leaving Africa forever in her present horrible condition, for the sake of avoiding any expense whatever, is unchristian, and not to be entertained for a moment. Africa must be converted; and whatever expense is really necessary for that purpose, must be incurred. In the second place, we would submit the following estimate, by the late Secretary of the Navy, of the expense of the squadron of 80 guns, which the United States is bound by the Ashburton treaty, to keep on the African coast for the suppression of the slave trade. It is dated Dec. 29, 1842, and was made in obedience to a resolution of the Senate, of the 14th of that month:—

| Number and class of vessels.    | Cost of the vessels. | Ann'l cost of repairs, and wear and tear. | Number of officers. | Number of petty officers, seamen, and marines. | Annual expense under all heads of expenditures, except wear and tear. |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Two sloops of 1st class . . . . | \$257,655            | \$20,000                                  | 42                  | 366                                            | \$133,986                                                             |
| Four brigs or schooners . . . . | 166,587              | 20,000                                    | 40                  | 260                                            | 107,196                                                               |
| Total . . . . .                 | 424,242              | 40,000                                    | 82                  | 626                                            | 241,182                                                               |

According to this estimate, the expense of a brig or schooner, including interest on her first cost, is \$34,297 a year, or \$2,858 a month. On the 300 miles of coast which we wish to possess, there is still one slave factory,—at New Cess. The expense of watching that factory two months, with the smallest vessel in the squadron, would be amply sufficient to purchase New Cess, settle it with emancipated slaves from Tennessee, and thus stop the slave trade there for ever. Again: The 150 miles of coast, or thereabouts, which we wish to purchase, will cost, it is supposed, \$15,000 or \$20,000; say \$20,000, which is 133½ dollars a mile. This is probably high enough, as the last purchase of ten miles cost but thirty dollars a mile. The whole slave trading coast of Western Africa is estimated, in round numbers, at 4,000 miles. This includes some long tracts of coast, on which there is no slave trade; but let that pass. The whole 4,000 miles, if in the market at 133½ dollars a mile, would cost \$533,333. The annual expense of our squadron of 80 guns, including interest on the first cost, is \$306,686. Its expense in two years is \$613,272; being enough to buy the whole 4,000 miles, and leave a surplus of \$79,939, or \$38,868 a year, to be expended in colonization. And yet again: The whole expense of this work can by no means be allowed to fall upon this country. The annual expense of the British squadrons employed in watching the slave trade, for several years past, has been estimated at £500,000, or about \$2,437,500, and there is no probability that it can be diminished, if the present system be continued, for many years to come. Here is a sum, large enough to meet the expense of purchasing and colonizing to any desirable extent, and with any desirable rapidity. The most difficult parts of the coast to manage are the possessions of Portugal, a power almost wholly under the protection and dictation of Great Britain. Here is money enough to pay for them all, and thus end that part of the trouble at once and forever.

We are perfectly aware that the whole of these naval expenditures cannot be diverted to the purposes of colonization, as some ships must be kept on that coast for other objects; that some portions of the coast may not be purchasable at any price; and that national jealousies may interpose hindrances to the straight-forward execution of such a plan in its full extent. Still, it is none the less evident, that colonization, so far as it is practicable, is beyond com-

## Recapitulation.—Conclusion.

And this work is going on successfully, by the colonization of the coast with civilized men of African descent. Sierra Leone has done much, notwithstanding its great and peculiar disadvantages. Its thousands, among whom all the safety of civilization is enjoyed, have already been mentioned. Liberia Proper has under its jurisdiction, a population of 15,000 or more, among whom any missionary who can endure the climate, may labor without danger and without interruption. Of these, more than 10,000 are natives of the country, in the process of civilization. Of these natives, about 1,500 are so far civilized that the heads of families among them are thought worthy to vote, and do vote, at elections; 353 are communicants in the several churches; and the remainder, generally, are merely unconverted human beings, who have some respect for Christianity, and none for any other religion. Among these, neither the slave trade nor slavery is tolerated. Besides these, numerous tribes, comprising a population of from 50,000 to 100,000, and according to some statements, a still greater number, have placed themselves by treaty under the civilizing influence of the colony; have made the slave trade and various other barbarous and heathenish usages unlawful, and many of them have stipulated to foster and protect American missionaries. The territory of these allied tribes is supposed to extend half way to the waters of the Niger. Several missionary stations have already been established among them, with perfect confidence in their safety.

The Maryland colony at Cape Palmas, though but ten years old, and numbering less than 700 emigrants, has also proved a safe field for missionary labor.

Still later, it would seem, though we have not been able to obtain exact information, the British government has settled about 1,500 liberated Africans from Sierra Leone, on the Gambia; some of them, probably, at Bathurst, near the mouth of the river; and some of them, certainly, at Macarthy's Island, 300 miles from its mouth. At both of these settlements, the English Wesleyan missions are flourishing. That at Bathurst reckons 279 converts, and the other 254.

It has usually been supposed, that sensible and candid men may learn from experience. If so, it would seem that such a variety of experiments, extending through four centuries, and all pointing to the same conclusion, might suffice to teach them. Consider the numerous

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parison the cheapest mode of exterminating the slave trade and civilizing Africa; and that Great Britain and the United States are expending money enough, if judiciously applied, to give Christian civilization an overwhelming predominance on the whole coast, and thus finish the work in a very few years.

The greatest obstacles to the complete execution of such a plan, however, are found in two points of British policy. In the first place, Great Britain is unwilling to make her colonies sufficiently democratic. Instead of calling out the energies of her colonists by loading them with the responsibility and stimulating them with the honor of self-government, she aims only to make them a virtuous peasantry, under officers appointed and paid by the crown. This policy vastly increases the expense of her establishments, while it diminishes their efficiency. For adhering to it, however, she has some apology in the fact, that she has few subjects for colonization in Africa, of equal capacity with ours. In the second place, instead of wishing to colonize Africa, she is desirous, and is endeavoring, as a substitute for the slave trade, to transfer free laborers from Africa to the West Indies, to be a laboring peasantry there. The good of Africa, and the most cheap and effectual suppression of the slave trade, must be sacrificed to the interests of her sugar-planters. This, however, need not hinder us from doing that part of the work which belongs to us, in the best possible way. See the Letter of Commodore Perry, on a subsequent page.

## Conclusion.

attempts by Romanists of different nations and orders, Portuguese, Spaniards and French, Capuchins, Dominicans and Jesuits, and by Protestants of divers nations and communions, to sustain missions there without colonies, and always with the same result. Consider, too, that every attempt to introduce Christianity and civilization by colonizing Africa with people of African descent, has been, in a greater or less degree, successful. Every such colony planted, still subsists, and wherever its jurisdiction extends, has banished piracy and the slave trade; extinguished domestic slavery; put an end to human sacrifices and cannibalism; established a constitutional civil government, trial by jury and the reign of law; introduced the arts, usages and comforts of civilized life, and imparted them to more or less of the natives; established schools, built houses of worship, gathered churches, sustained the preaching of the gospel, protected missionaries, and seen native converts received to Christian communion. *Not a colony has been attempted, without leading to all these results.*

In view of these facts,—while we readily grant that some Liberians sing, pray and exhort too loud at their religious meetings; that some profess much piety, who have little or none; that some of the people are indolent and some dishonest, and that some of their children play pranks in school, all greatly to the annoyance of white missionaries worn down by the fever,—still, we claim that the influence of Colonization is favorable to the success of Missions, to the progress of civilization, and of Christian piety. As witnesses, we show, in the Colonies of Cape Palmas, Liberia Proper, Sierra Leone and on the Gambia, more than one hundred missionaries and assistant missionaries, many of them of African descent, and some of them native Africans, now engaged in successful labors for the regeneration of Africa. We show the fruits of their labors,—more than five thousand regular communicants in Christian churches, more than twelve thousand regular attendants on the preaching of the gospel, and many tens of thousands of natives, perfectly accessible to missionary labors. All this has been done since the settlement of Sierra Leone in 1787, and nearly all since the settlement of Liberia in 1822. We show, as the result of the opposite system,\* after nearly four centuries of experiment, and more than a century of Protestant experiment, a single station, with one missionary and perhaps one or two assistants, at Kaw Mendi, under the shadow of two colonies, and one mission which has retired from the field of our inquiries to Lower Guinea; neither of which has occupied its ground long enough to exert any appreciable influence in its vicinity, or even to ascertain the possibility of effecting a permanent establishment.†

We claim, therefore, that the question is decided; that the facts of the case, when once known, preclude all possibility of reasonable doubt. We claim that the combined action of Colonization and Missions is proved to be an effectual means, and is the only known means, of converting and civilizing Africa.

\* The Wesleyan mission protected by British forts on the Gold Coast, does not belong to the opposite system.

† If missions should now prove successful beyond the limits of colonial jurisdiction, it would only prove that the beneficial influence of colonization is felt along the whole coast, and is rendered missionary success practicable, where it was formerly impracticable.

And who, that believes this, will not give heart and hand to the work? Need we, after all that has been said, appeal to sympathy? Need we here to repeat the catalogue of horrors from which Africa groans to be delivered? Need we mention the slave trade, devouring five hundred thousand of her children annually; her domestic slavery, crushing in its iron bondage more slaves than exist in the whole wide world besides; her ruthless despotisms, under which not even the infant sleeps securely; her dark and cruel superstitions, soaking the graves of her despots with human blood; her rude palaces, adorned with human skulls; her feasts, made horrid with human flesh? Shall not a work, and the only work, which has proved itself able to grapple with and conquer these giant evils, be dear to every heart that loves either God or man? It must be so. The piety and philanthropy of Christendom cannot refrain from entering this open door, and transforming those dread abodes of wretchedness and sin, into habitations of Christian purity and peace and joy.

## APPENDIX.

### PRESENT CONDITION OF LIBERIA.

WE request attention to the following official testimony of a witness, whose character for competency and impartiality is beyond suspicion:

*Letter from Commodore Perry, commanding the U. S. Squadron on the Coast of Africa, to the Secretary of the Navy.*

U. S. Frigate Macedonian, Monrovia, West Coast of Africa, Jan. 4, 1844.

SIR:—It may be expected that I should communicate to the Department some information in regard to the settlements established by the Colonization Societies of the United States upon this coast.

I shall, therefore, undertake to notice in general terms their condition.

Having had an agency while serving many years ago on this station as First Lieutenant of the United States ship "Cyane," in the selection of Cape Mesurado as a suitable place of settlement for the colonists, I first saw this beautiful promontory when its dense forests were only inhabited by wild beasts; since then I have visited it thrice, and each time have noticed, with infinite satisfaction, its progressive improvement.

The Cape has now upon its summit a growing town, having several churches, a missionary establishment, school house, a building for the meeting of the courts, printing presses, warehouses, shops, &c. In



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Testimony of Commodore Perry.

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fact it possesses most of the conveniences of a small seaport town in the United States; and it is not unusual to see at anchor in its capacious road, on the same day, one or more vessels of war and two or three merchant vessels.

Hitherto my visits to this place have been necessarily of so short duration as not to allow of any examination of the interior portions of the settlement, and I can only judge of the state of cultivation of the soil from what I have seen in the vicinity of the town. But I am told that the agricultural prospects of the colony are brightening.

It appears to me, however, that the settlers are much more inclined to commerce and small trade than to agricultural pursuits, and this is the universal propensity of the colored people at all the settlements upon the coast of whatever nation. In this occupation a few of the more fortunate and prudent of the American settlers have acquired comparative wealth, whilst others have barely succeeded in securing a decent support.

But it is gratifying to witness the comforts that most of these people have gathered about them; many of them are familiar with luxuries which were unknown to the early settlers of North America. Want would seem to be a stranger among them; if any do suffer, it must be the consequence of their own idleness.

At Cape Palmas I had an opportunity of seeing the small farms or clearings of the colonists; these exhibited the fruit of considerable labor, and were gradually assuming the appearance of well cultivated fields. The roads throughout this settlement are excellent, surprisingly so when we consider the recent establishment of the Colony, and the limited means of the settlers.

At all the settlements the established laws are faithfully administered, the morals of the people are good, and the houses of religion are well attended; in truth the settlers, as a community, appear to be strongly imbued with religious feelings.

Governor Roberts, of Liberia, and Russwurm, of Cape Palmas, are intelligent and estimable men, executing their responsible functions with wisdom and dignity, and we have, in the example of those gentlemen, irrefragable proof of the capability of colored people to govern themselves.

On the whole, sir, I cannot but think most favorably of those settlements. The experiment of establishing the free colored people of the United States upon this coast, has succeeded beyond the expectations of many of the warmest friends of colonization, and I may venture to predict that the descendants of the present settlers are destined to become an intelligent and thriving people.

The climate of Western Africa, in respect to its influence upon the constitution of the colored *settler*, should not be considered *insalubrious*; all must undergo the acclimating fever, but since the establishment of comfortable buildings for the reception of the new comers, and the greater amount of care and attention that can be bestowed upon them during their sickness, the proportional number of deaths has been very much decreased. Once through this ordeal of sickness, and the settler finds a climate and temperature congenial to his constitution and habits. But it is not so with the white man; to him a sojourn of

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Testimony of Commodore Perry.

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a few years is almost certain death ; and it would seem that the Almighty had interdicted this part of Africa to the white race, and had reserved it for some great and all-wise purpose of His own infinite goodness.

So far as the influence of the colonists has extended, it has been exerted to suppress the slave trade, and their endeavors in this respect have been eminently successful ; and it is by planting these settlements (whether American or European) along the whole extent of coast, from Cape Verde to Benguela, that the exportation of slaves will be most effectually prevented.

The establishment of these settlements would have a certain tendency to civilize the natives in their immediate vicinity, by introducing among them schools, the mechanic arts, and in greater abundance those comforts with which they have recently become more generally acquainted, and to secure which they are disposed to make greater efforts to provide articles of African produce to exchange for them.

Thus the commerce of the country, already considerable, would be increased, and new fields would be opened to the labors of the missionary.

It is, therefore, very much to be desired that these settlements should be multiplied and sustained by the fostering care of Congress and the Government.

I have the honor to be, &c.

M. C. PERRY.

HON. DAVID HENSHAW.



the 1990s, the number of people in the UK who are aged 65 and over has increased from 10.5 million to 13.5 million, and the number of people aged 75 and over has increased from 4.5 million to 6.5 million (Office for National Statistics 2000).

There is a growing awareness of the need to address the needs of older people, and the UK Government has set out a strategy for the 21st century (Department of Health 2000). The strategy is based on the principle of 'active ageing', which is defined as 'the process of optimising opportunities for health, participation in society, and security in old age' (Department of Health 2000, p. 1).

The strategy is based on three pillars: health, participation and security. The Department of Health has set out a number of objectives for each pillar, and has identified a number of key areas for action. The key areas for action are: health, participation, security, and the environment. The Department of Health has set out a number of objectives for each pillar, and has identified a number of key areas for action.

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OF THE  
COMMENCEMENT,  
PROGRESS  
AND  
PRESENT CONDITION  
OF  
THE AMERICAN COLONIES  
IN  
LIBERIA,  
BY  
SAMUEL WILKESON.

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WASHINGTON:  
PRINTED AT THE MADISONIAN OFFICE.

1839.

the 1990s, the number of people in the UK who are employed in the public sector has increased from 10.5 million to 12.5 million, and the number of people in the public sector who are employed in health care has increased from 2.5 million to 3.5 million (Department of Health 2000).

There are a number of reasons for the increase in the number of people employed in the public sector. One reason is that the public sector has become a more important part of the economy. Another reason is that the public sector has become a more attractive place to work. A third reason is that the public sector has become a more important part of the welfare state.

The increase in the number of people employed in the public sector has led to a number of changes in the way that the public sector is organized. One change is that the public sector has become more decentralized. Another change is that the public sector has become more market-oriented. A third change is that the public sector has become more customer-oriented.

The increase in the number of people employed in the public sector has also led to a number of changes in the way that the public sector is funded. One change is that the public sector has become more dependent on government funding. Another change is that the public sector has become more dependent on private funding. A third change is that the public sector has become more dependent on user fees.

The increase in the number of people employed in the public sector has also led to a number of changes in the way that the public sector is managed. One change is that the public sector has become more professionalized. Another change is that the public sector has become more bureaucratic. A third change is that the public sector has become more hierarchical.

The increase in the number of people employed in the public sector has also led to a number of changes in the way that the public sector is evaluated. One change is that the public sector has become more subject to external evaluation. Another change is that the public sector has become more subject to internal evaluation. A third change is that the public sector has become more subject to self-evaluation.

The increase in the number of people employed in the public sector has also led to a number of changes in the way that the public sector is perceived. One change is that the public sector has become more respected. Another change is that the public sector has become more valued. A third change is that the public sector has become more trusted.

The increase in the number of people employed in the public sector has also led to a number of changes in the way that the public sector is viewed. One change is that the public sector has become more visible. Another change is that the public sector has become more accessible. A third change is that the public sector has become more transparent.

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1839.

## CONSTITUTION.

**Article IV.** This Society shall be called "The American Society for colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States."

21. The object to which its exertions are to be exclusively directed is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their own consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient. And the Society shall act in aid of this object in co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.

22. Every citizen of the United States who shall have paid into the funds of the Society the sum of one dollar, shall be a member of this Society.

23. There shall be a Board of Directors, composed of delegates from the several State Societies, and Societies for the District of Columbia, and the Territories of the United States. Each Society contributing not less than one thousand dollars annually into the common treasury shall be entitled to two delegates; each Society having under its care a colony shall be entitled to three delegates; and any two or more Societies uniting in the support of a colony, composing of least three hundred souls, in three delegates each. Any individual contributing one thousand dollars to the Society shall be a Director for life.

24. The Society and the Board of Directors shall meet annually at Washington on the third Tuesday in January, and at such other times and places as they shall direct. The Board shall have power to examine and approve a General Government for the several colonies to be made, to provide a uniform code of laws for such colonies, and manage the general African colonization throughout the United States, except within the States which planted colonies. They shall also appoint annually the Executive Committee of five, with such officers as they may deem necessary, who shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee and Board of Directors, but in the latter case shall have a right to speak but not to vote. The said Board of Directors shall designate the salaries of the officers, and adopt such plans as they may deem expedient for the promotion of the Colonization cause. It shall be their duty to provide for the fulfillment of all existing obligations of the American Colonization Society, and nothing in the following article of three associations shall limit or restrain their power to make such provision by an equitable assessment upon the several Societies.

25. The expenses of the General Government in Africa shall be borne by the several associated Societies, according to the ratio to be fixed by the Board of Directors.

26. Every such Society which has under its care a colony, associated under the General Government, shall have the right to appropriate its own funds in the colonization and care of its emigrants.

27. The Board of Directors shall have the exclusive right to acquire territory in Africa, to negotiate treaties with the native African tribes, and to appropriate the territory and define the limits of the Colonies.

28. The President and Vice Presidents of the Society, shall be elected annually by the Society.

29. It shall be the duty of the President (or in his absence the Vice Presidents, according to seniority) to preside at meetings of the Society, and to call meetings when he thinks necessary.

30. The Board of Directors and the Executive Committee shall have power to fill up all vacancies occurring in their respective numbers during the year, and to make such by-laws for the management as they may deem necessary: *Provided*, The same are not repugnant to this Constitution.

31. This Constitution may be modified or altered, upon a proposition to that effect by any of the said Societies, transmitted to each of the Societies three months before the annual meetings of the Board of Directors: *Provided*, Such propositions receive the sanction of two-thirds of the Board at their next annual meeting.

32. The Representatives of the Societies present at the annual meeting adopting this Constitution shall have the power to elect Delegates to serve in the Board of Directors until others are appointed by their Societies. The Delegates shall meet immediately after their election, organize, and enter upon their duties as a Board.

33. All moneys paid into the Treasury of the American Colonization Society shall be applied after defraying the expenses of collection of the same, and a suitable portion of the subsisting debts of the Society, to the advancement, use, and benefit of the colony of Monrovia; and the agent of the Society, or Government, shall reside therein.



## P R E F A C E .

The subject of American Colonization in Africa has become one of interesting inquiry and discussion, but those who have not carefully watched its progress are placed in an unfavorable situation for forming correct opinions as to its merits. Exaggerated statements of zealous partizans can only mislead those who seek for facts, on which to make up their own judgments.

The official documents of the Colonization Societies, and the communications from colonists, and distinguished individuals who have visited the Colonies, which have been published in the newspapers and periodicals, have either not been preserved, or are not accessible to the thousands who are calling loudly for information on the subject.

With the design of supplying, in some measure, this demand, the following pages have been prepared. Most of the facts have been derived from published documents and communications, and are often given in the words of the writer. But it was thought unnecessary to name, in every instance, the original sources of information, in a work that professes to be little more than a compilation.

As it was the writer's design to give the work a pamphlet form, for distribution by mail, he has aimed to bring it into the smallest compass. This necessarily excluded many interesting facts, especially in relation to the recently established Colonies, as well as all notice of the proceedings of the Colonization Societies in the United States, except as these were immediately connected with their operations in Liberia.

No statement in relation to the country, the health or condition of the colonists has been admitted that was not considered by the writer as entitled to credit ; and if important facts have been omitted, his apology for this as well as for imperfections of arrangement, is the very little time which his other engagements allowed him to devote to this.

SAMUEL WILKESON,

WASHINGTON, *April* 15, 1839.

other colored persons to Africa. Here he was prospered in trade, built a church and preached the gospel to his countrymen. By Kizzel and his people the agents were kindly received and hospitably entertained. After having fulfilled their arduous duties, they embarked for the United States, but Mr. Mills died on the passage.

The missionary character and efforts of this man were thus referred to in a public discourse by the Rev. Leonard Bacon.

“A young minister of the gospel once said to an intimate friend ‘my brother, you and I are little men, but before we die our influence must be felt on the other side of the world.’

Not many years after, a ship, returning from a distant quarter of the globe, paused on her passage across the deep. There stood on her deck a man of God, who wept over the dead body of his friend. He prayed, and the sailors wept with him—and they consigned that body to the ocean. It was the body of the man, who, in the ardor of youthful benevolence, had aspired to extend his influence through the world. He died in youth, but he had redeemed his pledge; and at this hour his influence is felt in Asia, in Africa, in the islands of the sea, and in every corner of his native country.

This man was Samuel John Mills, and all who know his history will say, that I have exaggerated neither the grandeur of his aspirations, nor the results of his efforts. He traversed our land, like a ministering spirit, silently and yet effectually from the hill country of the pilgrims to the valley of the Mississippi.

He wandered on his errands of benevolence from city to city, pleading now with the patriot, for a country growing up to an immensity of power, and now with the Christian for a world lying in wickedness. He explored in person the desolations of the west, and in person he stirred up to enterprise and to effort the churches of the East. He lived for India and Owhyhee, [Hawaii] and died in the service of Africa.”

Mr. Burgess gave so satisfactory a report of his mission, that the society, was encouraged to proceed in its enterprise.

By an Act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1819, the President of the United States was authorized to restore to their own country, any Africans captured from American or foreign vessels, attempting to introduce them into the United States, in violation of law, and to provide by the establishment of a suitable agency on the African coast, for their reception, subsistence and comfort, until they could return to their relatives, or derive support from their own exertions. It was determined to make the station of the Government Agency, on the coast of Africa, the site of the colonial settlement; and to incorporate in the settlement, all the blacks delivered over by our ships of war, to the American Agent as soon as the requisite preparations should be completed for their accommodations.

1820.

In February of this year the Rev. Samuel Bacon went to Africa as

principal agent of the United States. He embarked at New York in the ship *Elizabeth*, chartered by Government, and was accompanied by John P. Bankson, assistant, Dr. Samuel A. Crozer, agent of the American Colonization Society, and 88 emigrants, who, in consideration of their passage and other aid from government, agreed to prepare suitable accommodations for the reception of the Africans who might be delivered over to the protection of the agent.

This expedition proceeded by way of Sierra Leone to the Island of Sherbro: and the emigrants landed at Campelar, the place which had been chosen for the site of the proposed settlement, while the sloop of war *Cyane*, which sailed from New York in company with the *Elizabeth*, was ordered to cruise on the coast for the prevention of the slave trade.

Mr. Bacon after encountering great fatigue and many vexatious delays in fruitless negotiations with the natives, for the purchase of lands, found himself obliged to turn his whole attention to the care of the emigrants. Campelar proved to be very unhealthy on account of the low marshy ground and bad water. These, with the total absence of accommodations, the want of proper regulations, and the continued fatigue and exposure, incident to their situation, soon spread disease in a frightful form among the people. Almost the whole care of the sick, as well as of those in health, finally devolved on Mr. Bacon. But, notwithstanding he labored more, was more exposed to heat and wet, hunger and thirst than any one, yet he continued in health until all the rest, except six or eight, had become sick. At length he was attacked by the fever, when there was no one to administer medicine, or allay his sufferings by the kind and assiduous attentions which he had, for weeks, bestowed on others; and after an illness of about a fortnight, he expired, a worthy martyr to the glorious cause of African regeneration.

A short time before his death he wrote in his journal, after describing his own labors and the sufferings of the people, "Is it asked do I yet say colonize Africa? I reply, yes. He that has seen ninety naked Africans landed together in America, and remarked the effects of the change of climate through the first year, has seen them as sickly as these. Every sudden and unnatural transition produces illness. The surpassing fertility of the African soil, the mildness of the climate during a great part of the year, the numerous commercial advantages, the stores of fish and herds of animals to be found here, invite her scattered children home. As regards myself, I counted the cost of engaging in this service, before I left America. I came to these shores *to die*, and any thing better than death, is better than I expect."

All the agents and more than twenty of the emigrants died; the remainder regained their health in a few weeks.

1821.

Early in this year four new agents were sent out with supplies and a small number of emigrants. These, with the survivors of the Elizabeth, were established at Sierra Leone, until a more eligible site than Sherbro could be selected.

Messrs. Andrews and E. Bacon visited different points on the coast, but returned to Sierra Leone without having made permanent arrangements, where during the summer, two of the new agents died, and one returned sick to the United States.

The total failure of their first effort to establish a colony in Africa, attended as it was with the sacrifice of so many valuable lives, and other discouraging circumstances, only tended to arouse the energies of the society to more vigorous and determined action.

In November another agent, Dr. Ayres, was instructed to visit Sierra Leone, and after ascertaining the condition of the surviving emigrants, to proceed down the coast in search of a suitable place for a settlement.

Capt. Stockton, with the United States schooner Alligator, was also ordered to the coast of Africa with instructions to assist Dr. Ayres in making proper arrangements for the emigrants. These gentlemen proceeded to Cape Montserado, about 250 miles from Sierra Leone to obtain, if possible, territory for the colony. They urged negotiations for several days with the chiefs of the country, and by the address and firmness of Capt. Stockton they finally succeeded in obtaining a valuable tract of land including Cape Montserado.

1822.

After the purchase of this territory was effected, Dr. Ayres employed two small schooners belonging to the colony in removing the emigrants from Sierra Leone to their new settlement. In the mean time the Dey people, of whom the purchase had been made, began to show signs of hostility and of the insincerity of their engagements.

On the arrival of the first division of emigrants, consisting chiefly of single men, the natives forbade their landing. The smallest of the two islands at the mouth of the Montserado, had been obtained by special purchase of John S. Mills, at that time the occupant and proprietor; on which the people and property were safely debarked, without any actual opposition.

Dr. Ayres attempted in vain to conciliate the natives, (who seemed bent on expelling the colonists,) and was so far deceived by their imposing offers of accommodation as to trust himself in their power, when they took him prisoner and detained him several days for the purpose of compelling him to annul the bargain.

The island on which the people had landed, was entirely desti-

tute of fresh water and fire wood, and afforded no shelter, except the decayed thatch of half a dozen diminutive huts ; thus exposed in an insalubrious situation, several were again attacked by intermittent fever, from which they had but a few months before recovered at Sierra Leone.

Happily, a secret exparte arrangement was, at this critical period, settled with King George, (who resided on the Cape, and claimed a sort of jurisdiction over the northern district of the peninsula of Montserado) in virtue of which the settlers were permitted to pass across the river, and commence the laborious task of clearing away the heavy forest which covered the site of their intended town. They pursued their labor with animated exertions, had made considerable progress in the erection of 22 buildings, when a circumstance occurred which obscured their brightening prospects and kindled around them the flame of war.

A small vessel, prize to an English cruiser, bound to Sierra Leone, with about 30 liberated Africans, put into the roads for a supply of water, and had the misfortune to part her cable and come ashore within a short distance of Perseverance Island. The natives pretend to a prescriptive right, which interest never fails to enforce in its utmost extent, to seize and appropriate the wrecks and cargoes of vessels stranded, under whatever circumstances, on their coast. The English schooner having drifted upon the main land about one mile from the extremity of the cape, and a small distance below George's town, was immediately claimed as his property. His people rushed to the beach with their arms, to sustain this claim; and attempting to board the wreck, were fired upon by the prize master and compelled to desist. In the mean time the aid of the settlers was sent for, which, from an opinion of the extreme danger of their English visitants, they immediately afforded. A boat was manned, and despatched to their relief; and a brass field piece, stationed on the Island, discharged upon the assailants, when they hastily retired to their town, with the loss of two of their number killed, and several disabled. The English officer, his crew, and the Africans, were brought off in safety; but suffered the total loss of their vessel, with most of the stores and other property on board of her.

By some accident in discharging the cannon, fire was communicated to the store house of the colony, and most of the provisions, ammunition and utensils were destroyed.

The exasperated natives, but for their dread of the big guns, would have attacked the settlers and destroyed them at once; as it was, they threw down the frames of their houses and continued to fire occasional shots at individuals who exposed themselves. This confined the settlers to the island until they were obliged to go up the river after wood and water. On their return, their boat, though strongly manned and armed, was fired upon by the natives who lay concealed; two of their men were mortally wounded and two slightly. Their situation was now most alarming; compelled to



A  
CONCISE HISTORY  
OF THE  
COMMENCEMENT,  
PROGRESS  
AND  
PRESENT CONDITION  
OF  
THE AMERICAN COLONIES  
IN  
LIBERIA,  
BY  
SAMUEL WILKESON.

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1839.

destruction of the settlement, should have secretly, and without any known motive, determined to serve the cause of the Americans by communicating to the Agent the plans and purposes of his enemies. The person to whom the colony was indebted for these signal services, (for which he has never been sufficiently rewarded,) was Bob Gray, a king of the Bassa tribe, since known as the subject of many interesting anecdotes related by the Agents of the Colonization Society.\*

Aware of his danger, the Agent set about preparing for defence. The little town was closely environed, except on the side of the river, with the heavy forest in the bosom of which it was situated—thus giving to a savage enemy an important advantage, of which it became absolutely necessary to deprive him, by enlarging, to the utmost, the cleared space about the buildings.

This labor was immediately undertaken and carried on without any other intermission than that caused by sickness of the people, and the performance of other duties equally connected with the safety of the place. The town was enclosed with pickets, cannon mounted, the Colonists mustered, and officers appointed—all this labor was performed under the greatest disadvantages; not only a want of teams, but of mechanics and tools.

Only 27 native Americans and 13 African youth, were capable of bearing arms, and these wholly untrained to their use.—There were but forty muskets, much out of repair, and no fixed-ammunition. Of one brass and five iron guns, the former only was fit for service, and four of the latter required carriages. The rains were immoderate and nearly constant. In addition to other fatiguing labors was that of maintaining the nightly watch, which, from the number of sentinels necessary for the common safety, shortly became more exhausting than all the other burdens of the people. No less than 20 individuals were every night detailed for this duty, after the 31st of August.

At the commencement of the third week, after his arrival, the Agent was attacked with fever—and three days after experienced the greater calamity of perceiving the health of his wife assailed with symptoms of a still more alarming character.

The sickness from this period made a rapid progress among the last division of emigrants. On the 1st of September, 12 were wholly disabled. The burdens thus thrown upon their brethren accelerated the work of the climate so rapidly, that on the 10th of this month, of the whole expedition, only two remained fit for any kind of service. The Agent was enabled, by a merciful dispensation of Divine Providence, to maintain a difficult struggle with his disorder for four weeks; in which period, after a night of

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\*One day when sitting with the Governor in his library, he fixed his eyes upon the books in a thoughtful mood and said, "I wish America man steal me when little boy." Why so? asked the Governor. "I learn to read book, know too much, and be a great man."



delirium and suffering, it was not an unusual circumstance for him to be able to spend an entire morning in laying off and directing the execution of the public works.

The plan of defence adopted was to station five heavy guns at the different angles of a triangle which should circumscribe the whole settlement—each of the angles resting on a point of ground sufficiently commanding to enfilade two sides of the triangle, and sweep a considerable extent of ground beyond the lines. The guns at these stations were to be covered by musket proof triangular stockades, of which any two should be sufficient to contain all the settlers in their wings. The brass piece and two swivels mounted on travelling carriages, were stationed in the centre, ready to support the post which might be exposed to the heaviest attack.—After completing these detached works, it was the intention of the Agent, had the enemy allowed the time, to join all together by a paling to be carried quite round the settlement ;—and in the event of a yet longer respite, to carry on, as rapidly as possible, under the protection of the nearest fortified point, the construction of the Martello tower ; which, as soon as completed, would nearly supersede all the other works ; and by presenting an impregnable barrier to the success of any native force, probably become the instrument of a general and permanent pacification. Connected with these measures of safety, was the extension to the utmost, of the cleared space about the settlement, still leaving the trees and brushwood, after being felled, to spread the ground with a tangled hedge, through which nothing should be able to make its way, except the shot from the batteries.

This plan was fully communicated to the most intelligent of the people ; which, in the event of the disability or death of the Agent, they might, it was hoped, so far carry into effect as to ensure the preservation of the settlement.

Their defences were still very far from complete when, on the 7th of November, intelligence was received at the Cape that the enemy were ready for an assault on the settlement, which was ordered in four days, but the plan of the attack was not ascertained. Mr. Ashmun, was only able, with great effort, to inspect the works, give directions and encouragement to the people, and arrange them in order of action. They lay on their arms, with matches lighted, through the night. The most wakeful vigilance was continued during the following nights, and patrols kept up through the day. Early on the morning of the 11th the attack was made by above 800 men. In consequence of the sickness of the agent, and his inability to enforce his orders personally, one pass had been neglected to be properly defended. By this the enemy approached, drove the picket guard, delivered their fire and rushed forward with their spears ; several men were killed by the first fire, and the remainder driven from their cannon without discharging it. Had the enemy, at this instant, pressed their advantage, it is hardly conceivable that they should have failed of

entire success. Avidity for plunder was their defeat. Four houses in that outskirts of the settlement, had fallen into their hands, and while they rushed impetuously upon the pillage, Ashmun rallied his broken forces and discharging the brass field piece (double-shotted with ball and grape,) produced great havoc among the enemy, and brought their whole body to a stand; a few musketeers passing around upon their flank increased their consternation, and in about twenty minutes after the colonists rallied, the enemy began to recoil. The colonists regained their post, and instantly brought a long nine to rake the whole line of the enemy. A savage yell was raised, which filled the surrounding forest with a momentary horror. It gradually died away, and the whole host disappeared. At 8 o'clock the well known signal of their dispersion and return to their homes was sounded, and many small parties were seen at a distance directly afterwards, moving off in different directions. One large canoe, employed in re-conveying a party across the mouth of the Montserado, venturing within the range of the long gun, was struck by a shot and several men killed.

In the engagement the colonists had three men and one woman killed, two men and two women severely wounded, and seven children captured.

Although thus completely discomfited, the natives did not abandon their design of exterminating the colony. They determined to renew the attack with additional forces, collecting auxiliaries from as many of the neighboring tribes as they could induce to unite with them. The colonists, on their side, were equally on the alert, and made incredible exertions to prepare for repelling the assailants. They reduced the extent of their works, and thus rendered them more defensible. But the number of effective men was less, being only thirty.

The attack was made on the 30th of November, and incomparably better concerted than the former one. It took place almost simultaneously on three sides of the fortifications. The assailants displayed a tact and skill that would have done credit to more experienced warriors. But they were received with that bravery and determination which the danger of total destruction, in case of defeat, was calculated to inspire, and were finally defeated with severe loss. The garrison had one man killed, and two badly wounded. The skill and talent, and energy of Mr. Ashmun, mainly secured the triumph. He received three bullets through his clothes, but was not wounded.

This action, which continued an hour and a half, and was renewed three times with the utmost desperation, was still more interesting in its details than the other.

The wounded suffered much for want of surgical aid. There was not even a lancet or probe in the settlement; a penknife was substituted for the first, and a priming wire for the last.

*An alarm, the night after the battle, induced an officer of the*

guard to open a fire of musketry and cannon, which providentially brought relief to the settlement. The English colonial schooner *Prince Regent*, bound for Cape Coast, with Major Laing, the celebrated African traveller, and midshipman Gordon on board, was then in the offing, a little past the cape. So unusual a circumstance as a midnight cannonading induced the vessel to lay by till morning, when the officers communicated with the shore, and learning the situation of the colonists, generously offered any assistance in their power. Major Laing sought the chiefs, found them tired of the war, and disposed for peace. They signed a truce, and agreed to submit all their differences with the colony to the governor of Sierra Leone.

Midshipman Gordon and eleven seamen remained at the settlement on the departure of the *Prince Regent*, having generously volunteered their services to assist the colonists in their extremity. The lamented Gordon and eight of the seamen fell victims to the climate in less than four weeks after the vessel sailed.

On the 8th of December, a large privateer schooner, under Columbian colors, came to anchor. The commander, Captain Welsey, and several officers, who were natives of the United States, rendered important aid to Mr. Ashmun. By assistance obtained from this vessel, the settlement, in a few weeks, was put in a better state of defence; while the sufferings of the sick and wounded were alleviated by the kind attentions of a skilful surgeon.

### 1823.

Mr. Ashmun's health, which had been improving for several weeks, sunk again under excessive exertion, and he continued for some time in a state of hopeless debility. He was at length restored by an extraordinary prescription of a self-taught French doctor, who arrived in a transient vessel at the cape, so that by the middle of February he was able to resume his active duties. Previous to this time two of the captive children had been recovered, and a few weeks after, the remaining five were gratuitously restored. So kindly and tenderly were they treated by the old women to whose care they had been committed that they were unwilling to leave them, and their foster mothers were equally reluctant to give them up.

At this period the colonists were in a sad condition; their provisions were mostly consumed; their trade nearly exhausted; their lands untilled; their houses without roofs, except of thatch; the rainy season was approaching; and the people, as a natural consequence of their late irregular life, had, in many instances, become indolent and improvident, and finally were experiencing all that derangement in their affairs which is produced by a protracted war. In these desponding circumstances, they were cheered by the arrival, on the 31st of March, of the *United States*

ship *Cyane*, R. T. Spencer, Esq., commander. This gentleman proceeded to make the most active exertions for the benefit of the colony. He supplied their wants; repaired the agent's house; commenced and nearly completed the Martello tower, before the 21st of April, when the rapid spread of the fever among his crew compelled him to sail for the United States. Dr. Dix, surgeon of the *Cyane*, had already died. "This lamented man had watched, with interest, the progress of the colony from its earliest existence, and had visited and administered relief to the emigrants when at Sherbro. The tears of a grateful people watered his grave.

The next victim was Richard Seaton, first clerk of the *Cyane*, an accomplished and promising young man, who voluntarily remained to assist the agent. The third was the lamented Dashiell, left in command of the schooner *Augusta*, which had been fitted up by Capt. Spence at Sierra Leone for the defence of the colony. Of the crew of the *Cyane*, no less than 40 died soon after their arrival in the United States. It is painful to record the death of so many whose generous devotion to the interests of the colony claims for them our spontaneous gratitude.

The successful exertions of the officers and crew of the *Cyane* are the more remarkable from the fact that they were enfeebled by a cruise of several months in the West Indies. Capt. Spence especially was laboring under great debility.

The Board of Managers, aware of the weak state of the settlement had, early in the preceding winter, determined to despatch a reinforcement of emigrants, with stores, under the direction of Dr. Ayres, whose improved health now permitted him to resume his duties, as principal agent and physician in the colony. This gentleman embarked at Baltimore, on board the brig *Oswego*, with sixty-one colored passengers, on the 16th of April, and arrived at Cape Montserado on the 24th of May.

On the arrival of Dr. Ayres, as principal agent, both of the government and the society, Mr. Ashmun was relieved from the weight of care and labor, which had nearly worn him out. Dr. Ayres entered with zeal and vigor upon his official duties. The erection of houses, the surveying and distribution of land to the new settlers, and the general care of the government, gave him unceasing employment. The system of government was improved, arrangements were made for the better disposition of supplies from the public stores; the site of the town was accurately surveyed and judiciously laid off; and distribution was made of the lots and plantations.

Some of the early settlers, however, were dissatisfied with these arrangements. As the founders and defenders of the colony they considered themselves entitled to peculiar privileges; and earnestly contended for their right to retain the ground upon which they had originally fixed their habitations. The health of Dr. Ayres soon began to fail under the combined effect of the climate and his incessant labors, and in a few months he was reduced to such a

state, that his recovery, in Africa, was considered hopeless; accordingly in December, he took passage for the United States in the ship Fidelity of Baltimore, and the government was again thrown upon Mr. Ashmun.

He had been placed in a most painful and embarrassing situation by the arrival of Dr. Ayres. He not only found himself superseded in the government, but had the additional mortification to learn that his drafts had been dishonored, and no provision made to remunerate him for past services, or provide for his present wants. No man possessed a nicer sense of honor than Ashmun. Finding his services under valued; and even the confidence of the society withheld, he was justly indignant; although his attachment to the cause remained steadfast. Seeing the principal agent leaving the colony, the colonists in a state of insubordination, Ashmun, with true christian magnanimity, forgetting his own wrongs, resolved to remain and save, if possible, from destruction, a cause in which he had done and suffered so much. The prudence of his measures, and the firmness of his conduct, prevented any immediate outbreak of violence; but causes of dissatisfaction existed, and the spirit of insubordination had acquired too much strength to be easily eradicated. Their stock of provision was low, the native rice very scarce and dear, on account of the supplies required by the slave vessels, which, at this time, were on the coast in great numbers. Worse than all, several of the principal colonists avowed their determination to leave uncultivated the land assigned them, and to give up all further labor or attempts at improvements until their grievances were redressed by the Board in the United States, to which they had appealed. It was at that time one of the regulations of the society, that every adult male emigrant should, while receiving rations from the public store, contribute the labor of two days in a week to some work of public utility.

About twelve of the colonists not only cast off the restraints of the colony, but exerted themselves to seduce others from obedience. On the 13th of December, Mr. Ashmun published the following notice:

“There are in the colony more than a dozen healthy persons, who will receive no more provisions out of the public store until they earn them.” This notice proved inefficient, except as it gave occasion for the expression of more seditious sentiments and a bolder violation of the laws.

On the 19th, Mr. Ashmun directed the rations of the offending individuals to be stopped. The next morning they assembled in a riotous manner at the agency house, and endeavoured by angry denunciations to drive the Governor from his purpose; finding him inflexible, they proceeded to the store house, where the commissary was at that moment issuing rations for the week, and seizing each a portion of the provisions, hastened to their respective houses.

The same day, Mr. Ashmun addressed a circular to all the co-

lonists, in which he made so powerful an appeal to their patriotism and to their consciences, and so decidedly expressed his own determination to maintain authority, that the disaffected returned to their duty. The leader of the sedition confessed his error, and by the rectitude of his after life, nobly redeemed his character.

1824.

On the 13th of February, the ship *Cyrus* arrived with 105 emigrants, mostly from Petersburg, Virginia. The accession of this company was hailed by all as a joyful event—especially as it comprised an unusual amount of intelligence, industry and morality. But the cordial greetings and kind interchanges of friendly offices, which made this a scene of happiness and hope, were soon succeeded by sadness and gloom. Within four weeks all the new emigrants were attacked by the fever. There was no regular physician in the colony, the number of buildings bore no proportion to the number of emigrants, and by a strange neglect, the provisions supplied for the expedition were wholly inadequate, while the dispensary contained little that was suitable for the sick.

Rev. Lot Cary, a colonist, who had before rendered important service to the colony, undertook the care of the sick; and, indebted solely for his medical skill to his good sense, observation, and what experience he had gained in the colony, his success was remarkable. Only three died.

All these evils were light compared with those which the spirit of revolt and anarchy threatened to bring upon the colony. Deficient in education and ill informed on many of the important relations and duties of human society, dazzled and misled by false notions of freedom, disappointed in some of their expectations, and tried by affliction, a few individuals still continued utterly to disregard the authority of the Agent, and sought to persuade others to imitate their example.

On the 19th of March, the rations were reduced one half, as it was found, that so diminished, the supplies would last not more than five weeks. This act of prudence was counted by the malcontents an act of oppression, and they reproached the Agent in his presence.

On the morning of the 22d, Mr. Ashmun assembled the people and represented to them the advantages and necessity of subordination, the evils which had already resulted to them from disobedience, especially that their neglect to cultivate the rich soil which surrounded them, had reduced them to their present want—reminded them of the expenditures, toils and sacrifices made by the society and its officers in their behalf, the distinguished privileges they enjoyed, and the bright prospects in reversion, urged upon them the obligation of their oaths, and declared his determination

to enforce the laws by a rigid exercise of his authority, unless they immediately returned to their allegiance.

Most of the settlers tacitly assented to the truth and justice of this address, and Mr. Ashmun adopted every measure in his power to relieve and preserve the colony, but the colonists afforded him no vigorous support. The spirit of disorganization was at work, deranging all the movements of government. The Agent had some months before declared to the board, that in his opinion "the evil was incurable by any of the remedies which fall within their existing provisions." He now prepared and forwarded despatches containing his reflections on the state of the colony, and the increasing elements of turbulence and danger, threatening its speedy ruin.

Soon after this, he was obliged to leave the Cape on account of his health, which, under his accumulated trials, had become entirely prostrated; appointing E. Johnson superintendent of affairs, he sailed for Cape De Verd Islands on the 1st of April.

The remonstrances sent home by some of the colonists, and the communications of the Agent had convinced the Board, that immediate and strong measures were required to prevent the subversion of the Colony, and the total extinction of their hopes. They wrote a reply to the remonstrance, and an address to the colonists generally, in which they declared that the agents must be obeyed, or the colony abandoned. They asserted their determination to punish offenders, while they assisted the obedient, and affectionately encouraged all the sober and virtuous to maintain the peace, and guard, as their very life, the authority of the laws.

These documents were scarcely despatched when letters were received from the colony, charging Mr. Ashmun with oppression, the neglect of obvious duties, the desertion of his post, and the seizure and abduction of the public property. These charges were confirmed by various verbal reports of officers of the United States Navy, and others who had touched at Montserado, soon after his departure, and there listened to these calumnies.

The Board applied to the Government to send a vessel to the colony with some individual duly commissioned, both by the government and the society, to examine the condition of the colony, redress grievances, and correct abuses. The Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the Society, was appointed to this service, and embarked at Norfolk, late in June, 1824, in the United States schooner Porpoise, Capt. Skinner.

Arriving at the Cape De Verds, 21th of July, Mr. Gurley there found Mr. Ashmun, to whom he communicated the object of his visit to Africa, and the extent of the powers with which he was clothed. Ashmun, who desired the fullest investigation of his official conduct, returned by the Porpoise to the colony, where she arrived on the 13th of August. On a full inquiry, Mr. Gurley was not only satisfied of the integrity and purity of Mr. Ashmun's

character, but of his firmness and sound judgment, as well as the admirable adaptedness of his talents to the extraordinary crises through which he had passed.

Both these gentlemen applied themselves with the utmost diligence to removing all causes of complaint. Widows, orphans, the infirm and helpless, were provided for. A large share in the management of their political affairs was conceded to the colonists.

The decisions of the commissioners, with the plan of government to be recommended to the board, were read and explained to the colonists, which, without a dissenting voice, they pronounced satisfactory; and being assembled in the first rude house of worship ever erected in the colony, they solemnly pledged themselves before God, to support the constitution agreed upon, and faithfully to sustain the great trust committed to their hands. Mutual confidence was completely restored between the people and the agent, and if the colonists in the extremity of their suffering had injured Mr. Ashmun, their error was atoned for by the most respectful subordination to his authority, and the kindest regard for his personal comfort during his future stay in Africa.

This period may be considered as almost the commencement of their establishment. Contentment, industry, peace and general comfort now succeeded to the sufferings, disappointments, alarms and dissensions, which had prevailed in the colony, during the previous four years of its struggling existence.

The commissioner left, on his return to the United States, the 22d of August. Mr. Ashmun explored the country, and finding a rich tract of land lying on the south side of the St. Paul's river, possessing great advantages for agricultural purposes, he opened a negotiation with the kings of the country for the purchase, and succeeded in obtaining twenty miles on the river, and from three to nine miles back. On this tract a town was laid out on a beautiful point six miles from Monrovia, which was at first called St. Paul's, but afterward changed to Caldwell.

#### 1825.

On the 13th of March, the brig Hunter from Norfolk, Va. with 66 emigrants arrived. These emigrants were principally farmers and settled at Caldwell, preferring this situation, although an unbroken forest, and exposed to the depredations of the wild Africans, on account of the rich soil. The fever, which attacked nearly all, within a month after their arrival in the colony, was greatly protracted and increased in violence from the want of proper medical treatment. The Board had failed to procure a physician. Lot Carey again interposed his good offices and acted as their friend and physician, and was very successful in saving his patients.

*Recovered from the seasoning fever, these emigrants applied*



themselves with so much industry, that soon their farms extended a mile and a half on the rich flats of the river, and they were enjoying health and plenty.

At this period the slave trade was carried on extensively within sight of Monrovia. Fifteen vessels were engaged in it at the same time, almost under the guns of the settlement; and in July of this year, a contract was existing for eight hundred slaves to be furnished, in the short space of four months, within eight miles of the Cape. Four hundred of these were to be purchased for two American traders. The Agent had no power either to arrest or punish these pirates, but he determined to employ the whole influence of the colony against this accursed traffic. He explored the whole line of coast from Cape Mount to Trade Town, and sought, by treaties with the chiefs, to effect the exclusion of the slave traders from the country, while, within the legitimate jurisdiction of the colony, he determined to enforce the laws against them with the utmost rigor.

In the month of August, a flagrant piracy was perpetrated by the crew of a Spanish schooner, (the *Clarida*,) employed in the slave trade, on an English brig, lying at anchor off the town of Monrovia. Mr. Ashmun did not hesitate as to the course of duty. Ample testimony was taken to prove the piracy. The English brig was placed under his direction. A call upon the colonial militia was promptly responded to, and an expedition was immediately set on foot against the Spanish factory a few miles north of Monrovia.

The Spanish schooner was not to be found, the factory with a small amount of property, and a number of slaves were captured without resistance, and the native chiefs bound themselves to assist in no way in collecting or transporting out of the country any of the slaves, bargained for by the commander of the *Clarida*.

In proof of the good discipline of the colonists, and their sense of justice towards the natives, it may be stated that not a single instance of disorderly conduct occurred among the fifty-four men who composed this expedition. The natives, into whose country they had marched, expressed their amazement at the regard paid to their persons and property, and several of the chiefs sent deputations to thank the governor for his justice and humanity.

About this time a most daring robbery was committed by a Krooman on the public stores at Monrovia, and these offences having become of frequent occurrence, it was deemed important to arrest the offender. A party of militia was ordered to accompany the sheriff to the Kroo town and to demand redress. Two or three of the party fell behind, one of whom fired at a Krooman and mortally wounded him. Ashmun had the man arrested and tried by a jury. It was proved on trial that the offender had misunderstood his orders, he was however sentenced to six months imprisonment or a fine of one hundred bars, which sum was paid over to the family of the deceased and was perfectly satisfactory to the Kroo nation.

A short time after the destruction of the Spanish slave factory, Mr. Ashmun discovered that a plan had been formed between the Captain of the *Clarida*, some of the native chiefs, and a French slave dealer on the St. Paul's, for violating the engagement by which the slaves originally destined for the pirate, were to be delivered over to the colony. He was induced, in consequence, to break up two other slave factories, and to offer to the chiefs concerned in the transactions of the *Clarida*, a bounty of ten dollars for each slave, which, in pursuance of their agreement, they should resign up to the colonial agent. The consequence of this was, that *one hundred and sixteen slaves* were soon received into the colony as freemen.

At the close of this year, the Agent presented to the managers a complete view of the condition, relations, character and prospects of the colony. He stated that health had been for some months restored; that adults, resident for some time in Africa, preferred its climate to any other, and enjoyed as good health as in America—and that the settlers generally lived in a style of neatness and comfort. Two commodious chapels, each sufficient to contain several hundred worshippers, had been erected and consecrated to God. A small schooner had been built and put upon the rice trade between Cape Montserado and the Factories at the leward, adapted to the passage of the bars of the rivers on that part of the coast. The militia of the settlement was well organized, equipped and disciplined. In addition to the valuable tract of country purchased on the St. Paul's, the right of occupancy and use had been obtained to the lands at the Young Sesters, and at Grand Bassa, and Factories established at both of those places. Five schools, exclusive of Sunday schools, were in operation.

The people were obedient to the laws; their moral character had improved; the preponderance of example and of influence was on the side of virtue; and the colony was, in *reality*, a christian community. He observed that as "the great secret of the improving circumstances of the colony is in the controlling influence of religion on the temper and happiness of the people, I should greatly wrong the cause of truth by suppressing a topic of such leading importance. The holy author of our religion and salvation has made the hearts of a large portion of these people the temples of the Divine Spirit. The faith of the everlasting gospel has become to them the animating spring of action, the daily rule of life, the source of immortal hope, and of ineffable enjoyment. Occurrences of a favorable or desponding aspect are regarded as dispensations of the Almighty, and followed with corresponding feelings of gratitude or humiliation.

He testified to the good effects of the colony on the neighboring tribes. They had been treated as men and brethren of a common family; they had been taught that one of the ends proposed in founding civilized settlements on their shore was to do them good; they had learnt something of the great and interesting truths of the

Christian religion—and sixty of their children had been adopted as children of the colony. No man of the least consideration in the country would desist from his importunities, till at least one of his sons was fixed in some settler's family.

1826.

On the 4th of January, the brig *Vine*, with 34 emigrants, a missionary, (the Rev. Calvin Holton,) and a printer, accompanied by the Rev. Horace Sessions, an agent of the Society, sailed from Boston and arrived at Monrovia on the 7th of February. A printing press, with necessary appendages, a valuable supply of books and other important articles were sent out in this vessel by the generous citizens of Boston, who assumed the entire expense of the printing establishment for the first year.

The Indian Chief, with 154 persons, left Norfolk on the 15th of February, and arrived on the 22d March. One hundred and thirty-nine of these emigrants were from North Carolina. In this vessel, Dr. John W. Peaco went out, as United States agent, for the recaptured Africans. He was also employed by the Society to act as assistant agent and physician of the colony.

The entire company which arrived in the *Vine*, were soon attacked by the worst form of African fever, and about half their number, including Messrs. Sessions, Holton, and Force, (the printer,) fell victims to its power. A large majority of this company of emigrants were pious, steady, industrious and intelligent; and the young men, who in the spirit of christian benevolence had accompanied them, were worthy to become martyrs in such a cause.

Of the emigrants who came in the *Indian Chief*, only three out of the whole number, (and two of these small children,) died in the course of the season, while the remainder suffered very little during the period of acclimation, and were soon actively engaged in the laborious duties of a frontier life.

A tract of land lying along the Stockton Creek and St. Paul's river was surveyed, and as early as June, no less than thirty-three plantations on the Creek, and seventy-seven at Caldwell were occupied. Cheered and animated by the thriving condition of the colony, and the prosperous settlement of the newly arrived colonists, the Agent wrote to the Board for more emigrants. "If they come from the South," said he, "they cannot come very unseasonably in any part of the year. More funds, more activity, more emigrants, and I am satisfied."

"A Spanish schooner, the *Minerva*, while waiting for the collection of her cargo of 300 slaves, at Trade Town, had committed piracy on American and other vessels, and obtained possession of several recaptured Africans belonging to the United States Agency in Liberia. Mr. Ashmun, as agent of the United States, demanded of the Spanish Factor and native authorities of that place, the restoration of these Africans, and threatened, in case of refusal, "to

destroy, as soon as Providence should grant him power, entirely and for ever, that nest of iniquity." The demand was treated with contempt. Intelligence of the character of the Spanish schooner was communicated by Mr. Ashmun to the commander of the French brig of war, who soon captured her, though her establishment on shore, at which *two hundred and seventy-six slaves* were ready to be shipped to America, remained unmolested.

Early in January, goods were landed at Trade Town, from a French schooner, the *Perle*, sufficient for the purchase of *two hundred and forty slaves*, though in April she had obtained but *one hundred and twenty-six*.

A Brigantine, the *Teresa*, from Havana, armed with seven large carriage guns, and manned with forty-two men, with goods for the purchase of *three hundred slaves*, arrived in March, landed about one-third of the cargo, and had commenced her traffic.

Three slave factories were in full operation at Trade Town guarded by two vessels, mounting between them eleven carriage guns, and having a complement of sixty men and twenty more on shore, all well armed; when on the 9th of April, arrived at Monrovia, the Colombian armed schooner, *Jacinto*, Captain Chase, who, in accordance with the instructions of his government, offered to co-operate with Dr. Peaco (then principal agent of the United States for the recaptured Africans) and Mr. Ashmun, in any plan they might adopt for the punishment of these offenders. The offer of Captain Chase was accepted; and on the 10th of April, Mr. Ashmun, accompanied by Captain Cochran, of the *Indian Chief*, who generously offered to become his aid, and thirty-two volunteers of the colonial militia, embarked in the *Jacinto*, and arrived off Trade Town on the 11th, where they had the happiness to find anchored, the Colombian Brig of war, *El Vencedor*, Captain Cottrell, mounting twelve guns, which had the same afternoon captured, after a short action, the Brigantine *Teresa*.

Captain Cottrell agreed to unite his forces with those of the colony and *Jacinto* in an attack on the place. It was resolved to attempt a landing on the morning of the 12th, on the bar of the river in front of the town, where the passage is only eight yards wide, lined on both sides with rocks, and across which, at that time, the surf broke so furiously as to endanger even light boats, and leave scarce a hope of the safety of barges filled with armed men.

The Spaniards were seen drawn up on the beach within half musket range of the bar. The brig and schooner were ordered to open a fire on the town, but owing to their distance their shot produced no effect except to disperse the unarmed natives who had assembled as spectators of the scene.

The two boats in advance, commanded by Captains Chase and Cottrell, were exposed to a rapid fire from the enemy and were filled by the surf before they reached the shore. Their crews,

though few of them landed with dry arms, forced the Spaniards back into the town. The flag boat, in which were Mr. Ashmun, Captain Cochran, and twenty-four men, was upset and dashed upon the rocks; several of the men (among whom was Mr. Ashmun) injured, and some of the arms, with all the ammunition, lost. Captain Barbour, a colonist, observing the dangers of those who preceded him, run his boat a little to the left of the river's mouth, and thus landed in safety.

Though met by a galling fire from a party of Spaniards and natives at the water's edge, Captain Barbour formed the colonists, under his command, with the utmost coolness, and attacked the enemy with such vigor that they soon broke and fled to the town. The colonists, joined by the Colombians, advanced rapidly upon the town, broke down the slight palisades, and before the frightened enemy had time to rally behind their defences fell upon them, and drove them into the forest in the greatest confusion.

As soon as he found himself in quiet possession of the town, Mr. Ashmun despatched a messenger to King West (the principal native chief) demanding the delivery of all the slaves belonging to the factories. He was told that if there was deception or unnecessary delay in the matter, Trade Town should not exist two days longer. On the same day the Kroomen of King West brought in *thirty-eight* slaves; and on the next morning, *fifteen* more; the latter, a wretched company, evidently the refuse of all that had been collected at the station.

The natives assembled and united their forces to those of the Spaniards, and continued, from the rear of their towns, and under cover of the woods, to pour in, at frequent intervals, their shot upon their invaders. Captain Woodside, surgeon of the Jacinto, was severely wounded, and several of the colonial militia slightly. Every man under the command of the colonial agent, lay on his arms during the night of the 12th; and until noon on the 13th, every disposition was evinced by Mr. Ashmun to settle peacefully the questions which had excited hostilities. But in vain. At 12 on that day the boats were prepared, just outside the breakers, to receive on board the rescued slaves; at two, the canoes began to carry off the mariners, and at half past three, all were embarked, the officers leaving the shore last, and having set fire to the principal buildings of the town. The flames communicated with the utmost rapidity to every roof; and the town exhibited a single immense mass of flame before the canoes could get off from the beach. The moment they reached the boats the explosion of two hundred and fifty casks of powder at the same instant swept every vestige of what was once Trade Town from the ground on which it stood.

The destruction of Trade Town contributed more to the suppression of the slave trade on the western coast of Africa, north of the Bight of Benin, than any one single event, except only the

enactments of the English and American legislatures.\* It convinced every slave trader along the coast that his commerce was insecure, and the natives over a great extent of country, that a powerful enemy to their crimes had gained establishment on their shore.

From May to October, Mr. Ashmun was confined to his room in consequence of the injury received at Trade Town. Dr. Peaco was absent from Liberia several weeks during this period, to settle certain claims held at Sierra Leone against the United States Agency in Liberia. But the colony was not neglected. Mr. Ashmun was able to attend to the business of his agency, and directed several important measures for improving the condition and extending the influence and territory of the colony. To encourage agriculture, he granted leases of the public grounds in the vicinity of Monrovia, for three years, rent free, on condition that the lessees should proceed immediately to clear, enclose and improve them. He imposed a tax of two dollars a head on all land holders for the purpose of raising funds for the construction of a town school-house. Although this act occasioned expressions of the wildest and most absurd notions on the subject of taxation and republican liberty, he persevered in collecting the tax.

The government of Sierra Leone had put the line of coast from that place to the Gallinas, under blockade for the suppression of the slave trade. This measure operated favorably for the American Colonies, as the exclusion of the ordinary commerce induced the chiefs of Cape Mount to open a regular trade with the colonists which made the supply of rice, and other African provisions unusually cheap and abundant.

The brig John, Captain Clough, from Portland, and the schooner Bona, from Baltimore, were plundered on the 27th July, when lying at anchor off the town of Monrovia by a piratical brig, mounting twelve guns, and manned chiefly by Spaniards—the former of two thousand five hundred dollars, and the latter of two thousand eight hundred and sixty dollars.

Intelligence reached the colony, nearly at the same time that eight vessels engaged in the slave trade, had resolved to make Tradetown the station for their traffic, that they had commenced a battery on shore, and were determined to defend themselves against any force which might be brought against them. It is well known that the slave trade was, at this time, the pretext for fitting out piratical vessels from Havana. Scarcely an American trading vessel had for the last twelve months been on this coast as low as six degrees, North, without suffering either insult or plunder from these Spaniards.

In this state of things, Mr. Ashmun directed that a strong battery should be immediately erected near the termination of the

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\* The American Government at this time rigorously enforced her laws against the slave trade by means of armed cruisers on the coast.

cape, for the protection of ships at anchor in the roadstead, while he represented to the Hon. Secretary of the Navy, the absolute necessity of the presence of a sloop of war for the defence of American commerce on the coast. His influence and authority with the native chiefs, however, contributed more than any other means to prevent the destruction of the colonial factories and the threatened subversion of the colony. The boats furnished by the government were of great utility; they enabled him to maintain the establishment at the Sesters, although within five miles of Trade 'l'own, and to keep up an intercourse, even at that inclement season, along the beach with Bassa factory.

On the 18th of August, Dr. Peaco, whose health was much reduced by repeated attacks of fever, embarked in the brig John for the United States. This vessel was the first of a regular line of packets intended to run between the United States and Liberia; an arrangement which promised a great benefit to the colonies, as well as profit to the owners, but on account of exposure to slave traders and pirates, and the general want of security for American vessels on the coast, the line was discontinued.

Coincident with the departure of Dr. Peaco, was the death of Mr. Hodges, a boat builder from Norfolk, which left Mr. Ashmun, for the seventh time, the only white man in the colony.

The first political contest in the colony, occurred this year. A few individuals belonging to the Independent Volunteer Company, composed of high spirited young men, all excellent soldiers, but bad politicians, took offence at certain restrictive regulations, and particularly at the summary method, which on the failure of all others, had been adopted to raise money for most necessary improvements in the town. By zeal and activity, they soon formed a party, went forward in a body to the polls, and while the more sober part of the community were little aware of any political danger, elected their own candidate for the Vice Agency. The Colonial Agent refused to confirm the chosen candidate in office, and stated his reasons, which were entirely of a political nature.

In the afternoon, a circular was issued to this effect; "That the right of election conferred by the board of managers on the people of the colony, as it never had been, so it never should be interfered with by the Agent; consequently appointments to offices of trust in the colony, once legally made by the concurrence of the popular choice, with his own approbation, should never be rescinded by any arbitrary act on his part, and that the actual incumbents must remain in their office till removed in the only way prescribed by the constitution, that is, by vote of a majority of the electors of the colony." A minority only having voted, the polls were kept open until the next day, the whole body of voters attended, and by a large majority elected men well qualified for the offices, and whose appointment was immediately confirmed by the colonial agent.

The frames of two small schooners had been brought out in the Indian Chief; one of them, the Catharine, was completed and launched in October. Trifling as this circumstance may seem, it was really an important event to the colony, although but ten tons burthen, the Catharine carried a brass six pounder, pivot mounted, and being strongly manned and well armed with muskets, boarding pistols and cutlasses, she was thus prepared for defence against the piratical slave traders, afforded a commodious conveyance for the produce of the country, and enabled the agent to visit a long line of coast, to extend the relations of the colony, and bind together their establishments.

At the close of the year 1826, the colony was blessed with health, peace and prosperity. Its commerce had greatly increased, new settlements had been founded, and much progress made during the year, in the construction of public buildings and works of defence. Fort Stockton had been rebuilt, and a battery nearly completed on the extremity of the cape. A large building capable of accommodating one hundred and fifty emigrants, had been finished. The new agency house, market house, Lancasterian school house, and town house in Monrovia were far advanced, and the government house at Caldwell nearly completed.

A room had been set apart in the wing of the old Agency house for the colonial library consisting of 1200 vol. systematically arranged in glazed cases. Files of American newspapers were here also preserved, and it was intended to render this department both a reading room, and a museum for African curiosities.

The purchase of Factory Island had been definitely concluded, and a perpetual grant, rent-free, obtained of a fine tract of country lying between the two Junk Rivers. Five of the most important stations on the line of coast from Cape Mount to Trade Town, one hundred and fifty miles, now belonged to the colony either by purchase, or by deeds of perpetual lease; and all Europeans were excluded from any possession within these limits.

The tract granted to the society at the Young Sesters river in 1825, situated in the midst of a fruitful rice country, abounding in Palm oil, camwood and ivory, included all the land on each side to the distance of half a league, extending from the river's mouth to its source.

In December, of this year, the agent wrote thus to the Board: "We still enjoy a state of profound tranquility, as regards our relations with *all* the tribes of the country. The last season was most abundantly prolific in rice; and never have our settlements been in so favorable a state to admit, I may add, to *require*, a very large addition of settlers, as at the present moment."

All this region of Africa opens its bosom for the reception of her returning children. I rejoice in the testimonials furnished of a growing and enlightened interest in the objects of your Board among the American people. It is one of those great and benevolent designs on which the merciful father of all mankind loves to



smile, which the American Colonization Society has undertaken. Its root is deep, and its growth, however gradual, I believe to be entirely sure. But the greatest difficulties—for difficulties the cause has always struggled with, I never supposed to lie on this side the ocean. To obviate prejudices, and unite the exertions, and rouse the enterprise of the whole American people, this is the great labor, and to such as most successfully engage in, and prosecute it, will be chiefly due the acknowledgments of posterity.”

1827.

The repeated acts of piracy in the vicinity of the colony, and the necessities of the United States agency within its limits, induced the Secretary of the Navy to despatch to the coast the United States schooner Shark, under command of Lieut. Norris, with a supply of arms and ammunition for the colony. This vessel arrived at Monrovia on the 12th of January. The commander acting in concert with the colonial agent, did much to suppress the slave trade along that coast, and to strengthen sentiments of good will towards the settlement among the neighboring tribes.

Early in the year, a treaty of peace was concluded between the colonial agent and the principal chief of Trade Town, by which the two parties were bound, mutually, to maintain and encourage between them friendly intercourse and an equitable trade, and to regard as sacred and inviolable the persons and property of each other. Soon after, the colonial factory at Young Sesters was suspended, in consequence of depredations committed upon it by the surrounding people, and especially, on account of a fierce war beginning to rage between the chiefs of that country and Trade Town. Mr. Ashmun visited both of these places, and for three days, was engaged in unavailing efforts to reconcile the contending parties. Both agreed to respect the colonial property, and both offered to give to the colonial agent, the whole country of their enemy, provided he would assist them to subdue it. Freeman (the chief of the Young Sesters country) and his allies, engaged to enrol themselves with all their people and country, as vassals and fiefs of the colony, on condition that they were assisted by the agent and his forces against their foe of Trade Town; “But from the first,” said Mr. Ashmun, “all were given to understand, that our whole force was sacred to the purpose of self-defence alone, against the injustice and violence of the unprincipled; that while we were ready to benefit *all* our neighbors, we could injure *none*; and that if we could not prevent or settle the wars of the country, we should never er take part in them.”

This war terminated for the advantage of the Sesters, at an earlier period than was expected, the colonial property confided to King Freeman, had been scrupulously preserved amid all the disorder and alarm of hostilities, and the Factory was re-established.

The chief would, he said, relinquish one half of all his territories, rather than see the colonial settlement, in the midst of his people, abandoned.

In March, Mr. Ashmun, expecting soon to leave the colony, wrote to the Board that preparations were made for the reception of at least one hundred emigrants, and two hundred recaptured Africans, and added "At this point, formed by the junction of the St. Paul's and Stockton where I reside, I have now a most commodious house completely furnished, and kitchen and out houses separate. There is also a public store house an extensive fortification, a block house, jail, and now erecting, a receptacle for emigrants one hundred feet in length, overlooking both rivers.

At the Cape, I have just completed a new and extensive warehouse, of which the second story is fitted up for a printing office. Besides this building, the three settlements contain no less than six public stores and ware houses, altogether sufficient to store commodiously more public property than will soon find its way into the colony.

I have been enabled to collect an ample supply of rice, and hope to leave a sufficient supply of provisions and other necessaries for all the dependent of the agency—should other sources by accident be closed against them, during my absence."

On the 11th of April, the brig Doris, Capt. Mathews, with 23 emigrants, most of them from North Carolina, arrived at the colony, after a passage of forty-five days. These people suffered but slightly from the effects of the climate, and at an early day, took up their residence at Caldwell. Two young children only died. The most protracted case of illness, in the whole number, did not last longer than five days.

Soon after the arrival of the Doris, Mr. Ashmun wrote the Board: "I am at length reluctantly compelled by a sense of duty to the colony, to relinquish my intention, so long indulged, and so fondly cherished, of visiting the United States the present season. The arrival of so large a company, at so late a period of the dry season,—the absence of my colleague, the multiplicity of delicate and arduous duties devolving on an agent in consequence of the recent extension of our settlements—the very expensive improvements commenced, and *nearly*, but not *quite* completed, are motives for remaining, to which I dare not oppose private inclination; or any probable good which might grow out of my return to the United States."

In May, the schooner Caroline in attempting to cross the bar of the river, was thrown on the shore and seriously injured. This interrupted, for a while, the conveyance of produce from the factories, and made it necessary to buy provisions from trading vessels. The exposure of the Agent in endeavoring to save the Catharine, brought on a distressing rheumatic fever, which confined him several weeks, and obliged him to be some time absent from

the colony on an excursion to Sierra Leone and the Rio Pongos for the benefit of the sea air.

The ship Norfolk sailed from Savannah on the 10th of July with 142 recaptured Africans, and arrived at Liberia on the 27th of August. In seven days after their arrival, Mr. Ashmun wrote, "not more than twenty remain, even at this early date, a charge to the United States. Two-thirds of the whole number have situations in the families of the older settlers for terms of from one to three years. The remainder are at service, on wages, to be paid them at the year's end, when it is my intention to assign them their lands, and treat them in all respects as emigrants from the United States, unless the Board shall, in the interim, direct otherwise."

In August an infirmary was established, the want of which had long been felt. This establishment was not designed for emigrants during their acclimation, but to secure the comfort of the infirm and diseased, to furnish them with regular medical attention, to compel them to a proper regimen, to enable even the invalids to contribute to their own support, to provide an asylum for the poor and otherwise helpless, and to give instruction, particularly in the arts of domestic life, to many of the ignorant and slothful.

The whole system of schools which had been suspended by the death of Mr. Holton, was reorganized, and in efficient operation this year, under the superintendence of Rev. G. McGill, an experienced colored teacher. Though its influence was limited by the want of proper books and well qualified teachers.

The schools were all taught by colored people, and supported partly from the colonial treasury, and partly by subscriptions from the colonists.

They were sufficiently numerous to embrace all the children, including those of the natives, and all were obliged to attend. The number of children in the six schools was 227, of whom 45 were natives. Most of these were the sons of the principal men of the country, and more than half could, at the close of the year, read the New Testament intelligibly, and understand the English language nearly as well as the settlers of the same age. Had means been supplied, the number of these native pupils could have been greatly increased.

A school was opened in the Vey nation, thirty-five miles interior from Cape Mount, and sixty or seventy from Montserado, by the Baptist Missionaries of the colony. It commenced with 35 scholars, and was patronized by the Prince and head-men of the nation, who were desirous to have their children clothed and trained to the habits of civilized life. Rev. Mr. Cary's school, for native children, was supported in part by the Baptist Missionary Society of Richmond.

The system of government adopted in 1824, had continued without any material alteration, and received the cordial support of the enlightened and influential part of the colonists. Unused to free-

dom, and ignorant of the principles of social order, it was to be expected that the uninformed would be deficient in public spirit and subordination. The annual elections resulted in the reappointment of most of the officers of the preceding year.

Nearly the whole expenses of the Colonial Government and of the United States' Agency, had this year been defrayed by the profits realized in the trade of the factories.

Four schooners were built and sent out under the flag of Liberia. The colony was sustained in its growth almost wholly by its own industry. It was, however, a subject of regret, that the life of this industry was rather in its trade and commerce than its agriculture. Situated, as were the colonists, on the central point of an extensive coast, with a vast field of commercial enterprise opening before them, they were tempted to seek the immediate gains of trade, rather than the more remote, though surer and more important advantages of agriculture. The premiums proposed by the Board to the most successful farmers, were to some extent beneficial. At Caldwell, an agricultural society was formed, at the weekly meetings of which, the members reported their progress on their plantations, and discussed practical questions on husbandry.

The recaptured Africans had proved orderly and industrious.—Familiar with the ordinary modes of African agriculture, and suffering nothing from the climate, they were busily and tastefully improving their settlements.

A company was formed in the colony for the purpose of improving the navigation of Montserado river; one thousand dollars of stock subscribed, and pledges given to raise, if necessary, four thousand more.

The military force was newly organized, and four volunteer companies formed; the description of which, as given at the time, was quite *en militaire*.

"The oldest of these companies is Capt. Barbour's Light Infantry, composed of select young men, completely armed and equipped, highly disciplined, (relatively,) and consisting of about forty men. Uniform, light-blue, faced with white.

The next is Capt. Davis's company. Uniform white, with blue bars, well armed and accoutered.

The third is a company of Light Artillery, composed of select young men, completely uniformed and equipped. This corps having been lately organized, consists only of about thirty men, but as it is exceedingly popular, will increase rapidly. Captain Devany is the present commander. Uniform deep blue, with red facings.

The fourth is a newly organized Artillery company, commanded by Capt. Prout."

Three enterprising citizens of the colony, during this year, explored the interior to a considerable extent. One of them penetrated to the distance of a hundred and forty miles, where he discovered a country inhabited by a numerous people, far advanced

in civilization. The St. Paul's river was explored upwards of two hundred miles.

The Chiefs of Cape Mount (with whom negotiations had been commenced the preceding year) had stipulated to construct a large and commodious Factory for the Colonial Government ; to guarantee the safety of all persons and property belonging to the Factory ; to exact no tribute from those who might resort to it ; to encourage trade between it and the interior ; and forever to exclude foreigners from similar privileges, and from any right of occupancy or possession in their country.

The right bank of Bushrod Island, extending the whole length of Stockton Creek, which unites Montserado and St. Paul's, had been ceded to the Society. This island contains twenty thousand acres of fertile, level land.

An invaluable tract of land, of indefinite extent, on the north side of the river St. Johns, contiguous to Factory Island, had also been added to the possessions of the Society.

All the Chiefs between Cape Mount and Trade Town had bound themselves to exclude all others except the people of Liberia, from a settlement in their country ; and at no less than eight stations on this line of coast, had the Colonial Government obtained the right of founding settlements.

The following is a general view given of the domestic condition of the colony at this time. About half of the entire population were settled in comfortable dwellings on their own cultivated premises, and in independent circumstances. Most of these were engaged in the coasting and country trade ; some were turning their attention to agriculture ; several were carrying on mechanical trades and employing from four to twelve journeymen and apprentices. A second class in their new, and in some instances, unfinished houses, were engaged in clearing their lands, and making those improvements which were requisite to secure their title. Some of these having large families to support, without any accumulated means, like the pioneers of all new settlements, were suffering hardships, embarrassments, and privations, which nothing but the cheering prospect of ultimate success could enable them to sustain.

A third consisted of those, less than a year in Africa, mostly in the public receptacles or rented houses, imperfectly inured to the climate, partially dependent upon the society, and beginning moderately to labor for the older settlers, or on their own premises. The remaining class included all the idle and improvident who, although contributing to the labor of the colony, were securing no permanent interests to themselves.

In the month of December the United States ship of war Ontario, Captain Nicolson, touched at the Cape on her return from the Mediterranean. The commander granted the request of eight of his crew, free colored mechanics, to remain in the colony ; and left a valuable donation of seeds which he had taken special care

to obtain in the Archipelago, Asia Minor, and Tunis. On his arrival in America, Captain Nicolson bore testimony to the general contentment and industry of the colonists, the rapid progress made by them in public and private improvements, and their salutary and growing influence over the native tribes.

To this may be added the testimony of the colonists themselves, given in a communication which they addressed to the colored people of the United States in the summer of this year.

They declared that in removing to Africa, they had sought for civil and religious liberty, and that their expectations and hopes in this respect had been realized. The great mortality which had occurred in the earliest years of the colony, they attributed principally to the dangers, irregularities, privations, discouragements, and want of medical experience, which are almost necessarily attendant on the plantations of new settlements in a distant, unclear-ed and barbarous country. After a few months residence in Africa, they enjoyed health as uniformly, and in as perfect a degree as in their native country. They believed that a more fertile soil than that of Liberia, and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, did not exist on the face of the earth. The virtuous and industrious were nearly sure to attain there, in a few years, to a style of comfortable living, which they might in vain hope for, in the United States. "Truly," said they, "we have a goodly heritage; and if there is any thing lacking in the character or condition of the people of this colony, it can never be charged to the account of the country; it must be the fruit of our own mismanagement or slothfulness, or vices. But from these evils we confide in Him, to whom we are indebted for all our blessings, to preserve us. It is the topic of our weekly and daily thanksgiving to Almighty God, both in public and in private, and he knows with what sincerity, that we were ever conducted by his Providence to this shore.

"Men may theorize, and speculate about their plans in America, but there can be no speculation here. The cheerful abodes of civilization and happiness which are scattered over this verdant mountain—the flourishing settlements which are spreading around it—the sound of the Christian instruction, and scenes of Christian worship, which are heard and seen in this land of brooding pagan darkness—a thousand contented freemen united in founding a new Christian empire, happy themselves, and the instrument of happiness to others—every object, every individual, is an argument, is demonstration, of the wisdom and the goodness of the plan of colonization."

1828.

On the 15th of January, the brig Doris, arrived at Liberia, after a long passage from Baltimore, with 107 emigrants, principally from Maryland, 62 of them liberated slaves, and on the 17th, the

schooner Randolph from South Carolina with 26 Africans manumitted by a single individual. On the same day Mr. Ashmun returned from a fatiguing visit of inspection to the factories south of Monrovia and found these vessels with several others waiting his arrival; he had hardly despatched them before the settlement was menaced by a strongly armed piratical vessel. Immediately after her departure he received a proposition from the interior for opening a new trade path, on condition of forming a settlement and factory at the head of navigation on the St. Paul's river. This required him, without delay, to explore that situation and visit, for negotiation, all the Kings on both sides of the river. Returning from this expedition he was engaged for the next four days in a tedious judicial investigation. The duty of assigning to the newly arrived emigrants their lands was next discharged, followed immediately by a session of the court. The Agent had felt his strength failing under this pressure of business, but there seemed no alternative, and his exertions were unremitting until on the 5th of February, he was seized with a violent fever, which deprived him of his reason until the 21st. Subsequently he was favored with daily intervals of reason, which he employed in giving instructions to those who managed affairs during his illness.

On the 19th of February, the brig Nautilus arrived from Hampton Roads, with 164 emigrants mostly from the lower counties of North Carolina. The emigrants by this vessel and those by the Randolph suffered but slightly from the climate, but those by the Doris were sorely afflicted. They arrived in bad health in consequence of a protracted voyage, and twenty-four of the emigrants from Maryland died.

Mr. Ashmun having been advised by his physician that a return to the United States afforded the only hope of his recovery, prepared for his departure, and on the 25th of March, accompanied to the beach by the inhabitants of Monrovia in tears, left Africa never to return.

He proceeded to the West Indies whence, after some weeks, he took passage for New Haven, Con., arrived on the 10th of August, and died on the 25th. He fell a victim to his labors and sufferings in the cause of African Colonization. The establishment which he found on the brink of extinction, he left in prosperity and peace. The people whom he began to rule when they were few, unorganized and disunited, he trained to habits of discipline and taught to enjoy the blessings of rational liberty. In his life he illustrated the power of christianity, to guide, to comfort and to elevate, and died with a calm, thoughtful, untrembling confidence which none but the christian can experience.\*

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\* Garley's Life of Ashmun is recommended as containing much valuable information relating to Colonization, as well as for the elegant style and sentiments of the author.

This work has afforded much assistance in preparing the early part of this history.

At his funeral the Rev'd. L. Bacon, preaching from the words "*To what purpose was this waste,*" said :

"Such was he whose life has been spent, and prematurely exhausted in his zeal for Africa. Do you ask, to what purpose has he died? I would that we could stand together on the promontory of Montserado, and see what has been accomplished by those toils and exposures, which have cost this man his life. Hard by, we might see the island, where, a few years since, there was a market for the slave trade. 'To that place, crowds of captives were brought every year, and there they were sold like beasts of burthen. From that place they were consigned to the unspeakable cruelties of thronged and pestilential slave ships; and those whom death released not in their passage across the Atlantic, went into perpetual slavery. At that time this cape was literally consecrated to the devil; and here the miserable natives, in the gloom of the dark forest, offered worship to the evil spirit. All this was only a few years ago. And what see you now? 'The forest that has crowned the lofty cape for centuries, has been cleared away; and here are the dwellings of a civilized and intelligent people. Here are twelve hundred orderly, industrious and prosperous freemen, who were once slaves, or in a state of degradation hardly preferable to bondage. Here are schools, and courts of justice, and lo! the spire which marks the temple dedicated to our God and Saviour—strange land-mark to the mariner that traverses the sea of Africa. Here, for a hundred miles along the coast, no slave trader dares to spread his canvass; for the flag that waves over that fortress, and the guns that threaten from its battlements, tell him that this land is sacred to humanity and freedom. Is all this nothing? Is it nothing to have laid on a barbarous continent, the foundation of a free and christian empire? This is the work in which our friend has died.

But this is not all. I look forward a few years, and I see these results swelling to an importance which may seem incredible to cold and narrow minds. I see those few and scattered settlements, extending along the coast, and spreading through the inland. I see thousands of the oppressed and wretched, fleeing from lands where at the best they can have nothing but the name and forms of freedom, to this new republic, and finding there a refuge from their degradation. I see the accursed slave trade, which for so many ages past, has poured desolation along twelve hundred miles of the African coast, utterly suppressed, and remembered only as an illustration of what human wickedness can be. I see the ancient wilderness, like our own wide forests of the west, vanishing before the march of civilized and christian man. I see towns and cities rising in peace and beauty, as they rise along our Atlantic shore, and on the borders of our rivers. I see fair villages, and quiet cottages, and rich plantations, spreading out, where now in the unbroken wilderness, the lion couches for his prey. I see the *pagani tribes*, catching the light of civilization, and learning from



the lips of christian teachers, to exchange the bondage of their superstitions, for the blessed freedom of the gospel. I see churches, schools and all the institutions of religion and science, adorning Africa as they adorn the country of the pilgrims. I hear from the mountains, and the vallies, and along the yet undiscovered streams of that vast continent, the voice of christian worship, and the songs of christian praise. In all those scenes of beauty or of gladness, I see, and in all those accents of thanksgiving, I hear, to what purpose this servant of God poured out his noble soul in his labors of love.

Who asks us to what purpose is this waste? To what purpose! Thousands and thousands of the exiled sons of Africa, going back from lands of slavery, to enjoy true freedom in the rich and lovely land which God has given them, shall one day answer in their shouts of joy. To what purpose! Africa, delivered from her miseries, her chains thrown off, her spirit emancipated from the power of darkness, rising up in strength and beauty, like a new born angel from the night of Chaos, and stretching out her hands to God in praise, shall one day answer, to what purpose this martyr of benevolence has lived and died.

What parent would exchange the memory of such a departed son, for the embrace of any living one? Who would not that his brother, or his friend had lived such a life, and died so nobly for so noble ends, than that he were still living, and living for no such noble and exalted purpose? He is not dead to usefulness. His works still live. The light which he has kindled shall cheer nations yet unborn. His influence shall never die. Years and ages hence, when the African mother shall be able to sit with her children, under the shade of their native palm, without trembling in fear of the man-stealer and murderer, she will speak his name with words of thankfulness to God."

On the departure of Mr. Ashmun from Liberia, the government devolved on the Rev. Lot Carey, vice agent of the colony. The measures adopted by his predecessor were successfully prosecuted by Mr. Carey, and in a manner which proved not only satisfactory to the Board, but to the colonists themselves.

The tract of country recently stipulated for on the St. Pauls, was to be secured only by immediate occupancy and cultivation. A company of the oldest and most enterprising colonists commenced an agricultural settlement here in February, called Millsburgh. They progressed with their improvements so rapidly, that by July, they had built a range of houses sufficient to accommodate thirty or forty people, beside a large log factory, and each of the settlers had a small farm under cultivation.

The tract of country, including this settlement, abounds in streams of fresh water, the land is easily cleared and equal in fertility to the rich bottom lands of the United States.

The condition and prospects of the Millsburg settlement at this

time, were thus represented in a joint letter to the Board, from several individuals who had taken the lead in its establishment.

“ We have to inform you, that we have in good cultivation twenty-four acres of rice, cassada, cotton, corn and other vegetables, and our crops promise better than any which have been raised since we have been in Africa. We have seen enough to convince us that we are doing well for the time. We must, however, inform you that ten acres of land is not sufficient for a farm. Here are large tracts of land which no persons inhabit. We have travelled about fifteen miles northeast, and found no person whatever; nothing but old country farms, and good brooks of water, and good land for cultivation. As we have made more discoveries for the good of the colony than any other set of men, we take the liberty to request that you would give us more land, as we intend to pursue cultivation;—for without cultivation we cannot prosper. Although times are hard with us just now, yet we must do the best we can; as we came out to plant a nation in the deserts of Africa, and as there are many waiting in America for us to clear the forest, we wish our rights for our children secured, which we hope you will grant us. As there are mill seats here, we wish you would send to us saw-mill irons and running gear for the same; also ox chains, reaping hooks, grass scythes, and stone hammers from 9 to 10 lbs. weight, with seed and grains of all kinds. Our rice is now shooting, and in six weeks we hope to be eating it.”

Another colonist wrote, “ There are many fine mill seats in our new territory, and also on the other side of the river. It would be almost incredible if I were to state the many advantages which are here visible to men of research. Nothing appears to be wanting but means and men of industry, and in a short time the whole of the present colony might be supported by its own inhabitants along the banks of the noble Dey, (St. Paul’s) and in the adjacent country.”

Another from Monrovia wrote, “ I wish you and the Honorable Board of Managers would make some inquiries whether it would be prudent and safe for me to trust a vessel across the Atlantic with our stripes and cross; and whether we would be subject to foreign duties on tonnage? as Mr. ——— and myself are about contracting for a schooner; and we wish to be very particular, and not to move until we shall hear from the Board, as the subject is important, particularly in regard to the duties. The commercial interest of the colony is increasing.”

On the 25th of June, the colonists were alarmed by the appearance of three suspicious vessels, which induced them to turn out all their forces, man Fort Norris Battery, and put themselves on the alert for the night. The next morning, the Captain of one of the vessels came ashore, who wished a supply of wood and water. Being convinced that they were all slavers, Mr. Cary refused to sup-

ply them, and allowed them but one hour to leave the road-stead. They were punctual to the time.

In September Mr. Cary located those recaptured Africans, whose terms of service to the colonists had expired, between Stockton creek and Montserado river. Before the close of the year, they had built themselves comfortable houses, enclosed their lots, and had their cassada, plantains and potatoes growing most luxuriantly.

In the fall of this year, the Colony's factory at Digby, a few miles north of Monrovia, was robbed by the natives, probably at the instigation of a slave-dealer, as one was allowed immediately to take possession of it. Demands for satisfaction having been refused, Mr. Cary felt himself bound to assert the rights and defend the property of the colony, and immediately commenced preparations for seeking redress by military force. On the evening of the 8th of November, while he and several others were engaged in making carriages, in the old agency house, a candle appears to have been accidentally upset among the powder, which caused an explosion that resulted in the death of eight persons, including the lamented Dr. Cary.

This remarkable man was born a slave, near Richmond, Va., and was early hired out as a common laborer in that city. Here, under the power of religion, he reformed his previous profane and vicious habits, and united with the Baptist church in 1807. A strong desire to read was excited in his mind, on hearing a sermon soon after his conversion, which related to our Lord's interview with Nicodemus, and he commenced learning his letters by trying to read the chapter in which this interview is recorded. Such was his diligence and perseverance, that, although he never attended school, he learned both to read and write. By his ability and fidelity in business, he obtained a sum sufficient to ransom himself and family, and became a preacher of the gospel, in which capacity he was the means of doing great good to the colored people on the plantations around Richmond. He became deeply interested in African missions, and was among the earliest emigrants to Liberia. When the appalling circumstances of the first settlers led to a proposition from the government agent that they should remove to Sierra Leone, the resolution of Mr. Cary to remain was not to be shaken, and his decision induced others to follow his example. To him was the colony indebted, more than to any other man, except Ashmun, for its preservation during the memorable defence of 1822.

In order to relieve, if possible, the sufferings of the people, Mr. Cary turned his attention to the diseases of the climate, made himself a good practical physician, and devoted his time almost exclusively to the relief of the destitute, the sick, and the afflicted.—His services, as physician of the colony, were invaluable, and for a long time, were rendered, without hope of reward, while he made liberal sacrifices of his property to the poor and distressed. But

amid his multiplied cares and efforts, he never neglected to promote the objects of the African Missionary Society. He sought access to the native tribes, instructed them in the doctrines and duties of the christian religion, and established a school for the education of their children. To found a christian colony which might prove a blessed asylum to his degraded brethren in America, and enlighten and regenerate Africa, was with him an object with which no temporal good could be compared. In one of his letters he says, "There never has been an hour or a minute, no, not even when the balls were flying around my head, when I could wish myself again in America."

The election for a successor to Mr. Cary in the Vice Agency, was warmly contested by the partizans of the two rival candidates, Mr. Waring and Mr. Devany. But on the election of the former, all submitted willingly to the constituted authorities.

On the 22d of December, Richard Randall arrived as the Society's agent for the colony, accompanied by Dr. Mecklin, as the colonial surgeon. They found the colony prosperous, and were struck with the inviting appearance of the settlements and the country. As no farther hostility had been manifested on the part of the natives, and the slave factory, which was the original cause of difficulty, had been broken up, the colonists were inclined to pursue an amicable course towards their offending neighbors.

The system of education, commenced the preceding year, had been pursued through this. The teachers were attentive and faithful—and every child in the colony enjoyed the benefit of their instructions; but these instructions, owing to the limited ability of the teachers, were confined to the simplest branches of knowledge, and were insufficient to form that intellectual character, which the condition of the colony required.

The attention to morals and religion, which had for years characterized the settlers, was still maintained, and was exerting a salutary influence over the natives. Sabbath schools had been established throughout the colonies—two of which, were for native children.

An enlightened ministry was, however, greatly needed, and the well timed purpose of several missionary associations to make establishments in Liberia, added much to the encouraging prospects of the colony, though they failed in a great measure of being realized. Of five missionaries destined to this field from the Evangelical missionary society of Switzerland, one arrived in December of 1827, and the others during the present year. They all remained at Monrovia a few months for acclimation, and were about commencing their mission at Grand Bassa, when they were interrupted by sickness, which caused the death of one, and obliged another to quit the colony.

1829.

*The early part of this year was marked by no extraordinary*

events in the colony. Health prevailed, the inhabitants were prosecuting their various improvements, the agent was zealously engaged in the duties of his office, preparing for the reception of a large party of emigrants which was soon expected, exploring the country, and examining into its various relations and resources. He made an excursion up the St. Paul's, ten or fifteen miles farther than it had yet been explored by any white man. As far as he proceeded he found this river unobstructed, its waters clear and limpid, its banks and the surrounding country rich and beautiful.

As the under brush is here, the most dense that can be imagined, the exploring party could only proceed through the paths made by the wild cattle, or have one cleared by sending forward two or three of the natives, who, with their short cutlasses, rapidly removed the under brush, and thus formed a perfect alcove entirely protected from the action of the sun, which was only now and then visible through an opening in the trees.

Though much had been done by Mr. Ashmun to banish the slave trade from the territory under colonial jurisdiction, it was this year carried on very actively at the Gallenas, and to the leeward of Monrovia. In consequence of which some of the native tribes in the vicinity, were involved in war with each other; and at one time approached so near the colony in pursuit of their victims, that the inhabitants were alarmed and prepared for defence. They were however soon relieved by the departure of the hostile party, with their complement of slaves to the interior. It is impossible to imagine, says the agent, the misery that such a war occasions among the vanquished. It has not been unusual for the population of whole towns to die of starvation; their crops of rice and cassada having been destroyed by the enemy.

On the 17th of March, the brig Harriet from Norfolk arrived at Monrovia, and landed 155 passengers in good health and spirits. This company of emigrants were from Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina. Upwards of forty were slaves, liberated on condition of going to Liberia. Some had long been free, and acquired considerable property, and nearly all had been recommended as industrious and exemplary. Comfortable shelters had been prepared for them, against the rains which soon commenced. In about ten days after their landing, they began to have the fever of the country. The indisposition which they first experienced was slight, from which, having partially recovered, they regarded the danger as past; and by imprudent exposures to the weather, and a free indulgence of the tropical fruits, brought on a far more fatal disease.

At the same time, both the colonial agent and physician were so reduced by fever, as to be unable, for the most part, to give personal attendance to their patients, 26 of whom died in the course of the summer. It is to be lamented that instructions from the board to the colonial agent, on the importance of having these emigrants,

immediately on their landing, removed to Millsburg, were by some oversight not sent by the Harriet.

Dr. Randall recovered from his first slight attack of fever, without having been long interrupted in his devoted attention to the wants of the colony. Fatigue and exposure brought on a relapse, from which he again recovered—by similar imprudence, he was again taken down. His fourth and last attack proved fatal. He died on the 20th of April, the victim of an enthusiasm, which it is impossible not both to admire and regret. His loss was deeply felt in the colony, and by the friends of colonization in the United States, as it was hoped that upon him had fallen the mantle of Ashmun. On receiving the tidings of Dr. Randall's death, the board appointed Dr. Mecklin as his successor.

Both Sabbath and day schools continued throughout the colony ; but the want of qualified teachers was still felt. Joseph Shipherd an experienced colored teacher from Richmond, Virginia, came out in the Harriet, and Mr. J. B. Russwurm, a young man of color, who received his education at Bowdoin College, Maine, and came out to the colony for the express purpose of superintending and improving the system of education, arrived on the 12th of November.

The celebrated Moorish prince, Abduhl Rahhahman, went out in the ship Harriet, and while waiting at the colony to receive intelligence from his friends and brother who was then the reigning King of Teembo, died of a sudden illness on the 6th of July. It was his intention, had he lived to visit his native country, to obtain means to liberate his children who were slaves in the United States, and with them to return and settle in the colony, where it was hoped his influence would be the means of opening a direct communication for trade with Teembo, and thus divert at least a portion of the trade of that place, from Sierra Leone to Liberia.

Two of the citizens made a trading excursion this year to Bo Poro, the capital of King Boatswain's dominions, 150 miles interior. He professed himself a warm friend of the colony, (towards which he had always been well disposed) and made a distinct proposal through these colonists for the establishment of a factory at his town, offering to send down people to assist in transporting goods from the colony, should the agent determine to build a factory.

The commerce of the country was still active, and the crops of the farmers greater than in any preceding year. The emigrants by the Harriet had their lands assigned them, and commenced clearing and building.

1830.

Five additional Swiss missionaries came out this year. They left Europe in 1829, accompanied by one of the five who had previously visited Liberia, but was obliged to return with his in-

valid brother missionary to Switzerland. They came by the way of the United States, where they spent several months in visiting the churches.

On the 27th of February, 58 emigrants arrived in the brig *Liberia*, from Norfolk, and with them Dr. Anderson the colonial physician and assistant agent, also, two of the Swiss missionaries (the others having come out a month previous), all landed in good health and were highly delighted with the country.

Among these emigrants was the Rev. George Erskine, a Presbyterian minister, with his wife, five children, and his mother about 80 years of age, who was born in Africa. All this family were born slaves, and their freedom was bought by Mr. Erskine.

He was an intelligent man and an interesting preacher. During the passage he preached every Sabbath. He said one day to the Captain, "I am going to a new country to settle myself and family as agriculturalists, to a country where the complexion will be no barrier to our filling the most exalted stations."

Another interesting passenger was Mr. Cook; he was about seventy years of age, and had a family of thirty persons, all of whom evidenced the beneficial effects of the good old man's counsel. They were Methodists, from Lynchburg, Va.

On the 4th of March, 91 recaptured Africans arrived. They sailed from the United States in August, 1829. But owing to the ignorance and obstinacy of the Captain, (who disregarding the experience of navigators, determined on pursuing a direct course to Liberia, which deprived him of the benefit of the trade winds,) after being out 89 days, they were obliged to put into Barbadoes; and the vessel being condemned as unseaworthy, another was here chartered in which to prosecute their voyage. The whole of this company were entirely exempt from the fever of the country, though they had been some time in the United States. They were therefore able immediately to take possession of the lands assigned them, and commence building their huts, which they thatched in a different manner from those of the natives adjacent, and quite superior to them. The entire settlement of recaptured Africans, containing about 400 inhabitants, was at this time one of the neatest and most flourishing in the colony. It seemed almost incredible that these could be the same individuals, who, when in bondage evinced so little intellect and forethought. They furnished a large supply of vegetables, mellons, fowls, &c., for the market of Monrovia.

Soon after the arrival of the *Liberia*, Dr. Mecklin was compelled, by the state of his health, to leave the colony; and the administration of government devolved on Dr. Anderson, who was then in good health, and continued to discharge the duties of his agency until April, when he died, after an illness of ten days.—The death, also, of three of the Swiss missionaries, which occurred in quick succession, cast a gloom over the settlement. The colored passengers by the *Liberia*. had the fever slightly at first, and it

was hoped would pass through their seasoning with safety. But having no physician to attend them, and, in general, disregarding the advice of the older settlers not to expose themselves to the heat, and rain, and evening dews, several, in the course of the summer, died; among them was the Rev. Mr. Erskine.

Early in June, 70 emigrants arrived in the Montgomery. Thirty of these were liberated by one gentleman in Georgia; and as the climate has little effect on people from that section of the country, the deaths of two small children were the only ones that occurred among this hardy company during their acclimation.— Among the other emigrants by the Montgomery, who were chiefly from Virginia, the sickness was more severe, and, in a greater number of instances, proved fatal.

More of an agricultural spirit, seemed, at this time, to prevail in the colony. The emigrants who came out the preceding year by the Harriet, were chiefly men who knew the value of industry, and their application to business was manifest in the flourishing condition of their farms. Caldwell, the place of their residence, is a beautiful town, situated at the junction of the St. Paul's and Stockton Creek, consisting of one street about a mile and a half long, kept very clean, and planted on each side with rows of plantain and bananas. Between this and the water, there is an open space, contributing to the beauty and health of the place. Those who applied themselves diligently and perseveringly to farming from the first, were generally in a prosperous condition. But the mania for trading was too apt to seize new comers, many of whom engaging in it, not only without adequate means, but wholly destitute of experience, would be cheated by the natives, lose their property, and become dissatisfied with the place. Those who expected to live comfortably, and get rich without labor, constituted nearly the whole class of murmurers.

The schools of the colony were in a deplorable condition for the want of funds and competent teachers. Mr. Shiphard soon became so engrossed by his duties, as colonial surveyor, that he gave up his school altogether, which left only two pay schools in operation, and these embracing but a small number of pupils. Mr. Kisling, one of the Swiss missionaries, had collected a school for orphans and natives, which the state of his health permitted him to attend to but very irregularly. One of the emigrants by the Liberia opened a school at Caldwell. There was none at Millsburg, and none in the settlements of recaptured Africans at New Georgia. The citizens in general, felt no due sense of the importance of preparing their children, by education, for usefulness, influence and self-government. Their sudden elevation of circumstances and privileges, and their rapid acquisition of property, had, to some extent, produced a spirit of emulation, display and extravagance, unfavorable to the moral and religious interests of the colony.— They had yet to learn, from experience, that economy and sober



expectations best promote, not only public welfare, but private happiness.

Friendly relations continued to exist between the colonists and the natives. Early this year, one tribe put themselves under the protection, and adopted the laws of the colony. The King, Long Peter, cheerfully giving up his title, and receiving the appointment of head man from the agent. His people were full of joy, when they learned that the agent had determined to adopt them as subjects of the colony. They were aware of the advantages of such an arrangement, which at once freed them from all the oppressive customs and laws of the surrounding native tribes, and secured them from being sold into slavery, as they were before. liable to be at any moment, on account of some frivolous dispute or palaver, got up for the purpose by the head men, whenever they wanted a supply of money.

Several of the petty kings made application to put themselves and their people under the government of the colony, that they might not be molested by king Boatswain, who was at this time largely engaged in the slave trade; but the colonial agent hesitated to engage his protection to the more distant tribes. He, however, received Far Gay and his people, who were in the vicinity of the colony.

On the 3d of December the Caroline arrived, bringing 107 colored persons, Dr. Mecklin, Dr. Humphries, assistant agent and physician, and Mr. and Mrs. Skinner, missionaries, sent out by the American Board of Foreign Missions. Among the 45 liberated slaves, were the children and grand children of Abduhl Rahhahman. Several children of this company died of the measles on the passage, and several adults, of fever, after their arrival, amounting in all to 20, including Mrs. Skinner and child. Dr. Mecklin resumed the duties of colonial agent, which, during his absence, had been ably performed by the vice agent, A. D. Williams.

Twenty-five substantial stone and frame buildings had been erected in Monrovia; the spirit of enterprise was increasing among the people, who seemed determined to develop the resources of the country.

The first newspaper in Liberia, was commenced this year by Mr. Busswurm, and called the Liberia Herald.

1831.

The brig Valador, with Dr. Todsen and 83 emigrants, arrived at Monrovia in January. Most of these were from the lower parts of Virginia and North Carolina. They arrived in good health, and were immediately transferred to Caldwell, and placed under the care of Dr. Todsen, who providentially continued well until nearly all his patients were recovering from the fever.

It was no doubt in part owing to his skill and unmerited attention, that, of this whole company, only three children, and not a

single adult died, during their acclimation, while the mortality that attended those by the *Caroline*, was partly attributed to their want of a physician, both Dr. Mecklin and Dr. Humphries being sick at the time when their services were most needed. The latter died in February, of a consumption, with which he had long been afflicted in the United States. The Rev. Mr. Skinner took passage for the United States, in hopes of thus recovering his health, but died on the voyage. The death of this devoted missionary and his wife, was a great loss.

The colonial agent, in obedience to the instructions of the Board, made a sale of some public lots in Monrovia the beginning of the year, by which a considerable fund was raised for the purposes of education. A law was passed about the same time, by the agent and council, taxing all the real estate in the colony, at the rate of five cents on a hundred dollars, which tax was to be exclusively devoted to the support of public schools. The duties on spirituous liquors were also to be thus appropriated. School houses were erected at Monrovia, Caldwell and Millsburg, competent teachers appointed under the supervision of trustees, and a new zeal in the cause of education was awakened throughout the colony. The system adopted, was designed to afford the means of instruction to every child.

A most encouraging letter addressed to the colonists from the Female Colonization Society of Richmond and Manchester, on the importance of education, was published in the February number of the *Liberia Herald*. The editorial article in this paper, which closed its first year, contained the following paragraph, "The changes which have taken place in the colony during the publication of the *Herald*, are worthy of notice. Every thing has improved—our agriculture, our commerce have each shared in the blessing. Monrovia has almost assumed a new garb, and should things continue to prosper as they have, our town will certainly present the most desirable residence, to a stranger, of any on the coast of Africa. In Monrovia alone, the number of comfortable stone and wooden dwellings erected during the year has been upwards of fifty-five—and if we take into consideration, that Caldwell, Millsburg, and the recaptured towns have shared equally in this prosperity, we have abundant reasons to be thankful for the showers of mercy, which have been extended to our infant colony. Our commerce is daily extending, and we believe the day is not far distant when our port will be the emporium of the western coast of Africa.

But the object which we consider of most vital importance to the future prosperity of the colony, is education. The subject has long lain dormant, but the late resolutions of the Board of Managers, and the fixed determination of our executive to carry them into effect, give us every reason to hope that a complete free school system is about being put into operation."

It had been thought that the sale of ardent spirits was almost necessary to the commerce of the colony as the natives would prefer selling their brethren to the slave traders, who always supplied them with this pernicious article, rather than to trade with the colonists, if it could not be obtained from them. And besides, the facilities of introducing it clandestinely were such, that the Board of Managers, though they were grieved to have it so extensively introduced into the colony, thought that to correct the evil by moral influence, would be wiser and more effective than by legal restraints. They therefore sent an address to the colonists, expressing their disapprobation of the use and sale of ardent spirits; recommending them to form temperance societies, and in every way to use their influence to produce a correct public sentiment on this subject, with the design of lessening the demand for this article, and of finally banishing it from the commerce of the colony. This address, together with various pamphlets and tracts on the subject of temperance were not unavailing. Many of the colonists determined to abandon entirely the use of ardent spirits, and to discourage its introduction into the colony.

The excessive disposition to engage in commerce still continued. The substitution of an anchorage for a tonnage duty induced many vessels that formerly passed on to the leeward coast to anchor now in the harbor of Monrovia, and do business to a considerable amount.

The Liberia Herald announced the arrival of 18 and the departure of 14 vessels in a single month. Several of these however, were small schooners owned at the colony. The Herald of December says, "The beach is lined with Liberians of all ages, from twelve to fifty years, eager in the pursuit of traffic, and in the acquisition of camwood; and it is astonishing what little time is necessary to qualify, even the youngest, to drive as hard a bargain as any roving merchant from the land of steady habits, with his assortment of tin ware, nut-megs, books or dry goods. Here the simile ends—for it is to be wished that our Liberians would follow their prototype in the mother country throughout, and be as careful in keeping as acquiring.

The Liberian is certainly a great man, and what is more, by the natives he is considered a white man, though many degrees from that stand—for to be thought acquainted with the white man's fashions, and to be treated as one, are considered as marks of great distinction among the Bassa and other nations."

Forty-six vessels, twenty-one of which were American, visited the colony in the course of the year. The amount of exports was \$88,911.

The slave trade, though it had received some check in the immediate vicinity of the colony, was still prosecuted on nearly every part of the African coast.

In June, the colonial schooner Montserado was captured by a Spanish pirate off little Cape Mount; and her crew consisting of

eight persons either conveyed on board the Spanish vessel, or put to death.

During a visit of the colonial agent to one of the native towns in the vicinity this summer, eight or ten of the chiefs, after consulting with each other, united in the request, that they might be received and treated as subjects of the colony, and that settlements might be made on their territory. They expressed a confidence that in such case, they would no longer be exposed to the incursions and cruelties of more powerful tribes.

The just and humane policy of the colonial government toward the natives, induced the latter frequently to refer the settlement of their disputes to the colonists, instead of abiding by their own laws and usages.

It was not unusual for them to attend the court of monthly sessions either as plaintiffs or defendants; and its decisions were cheerfully acquiesced in even by the party against whom they were given.

In the autumn of this year, the brig *Criterion*, after a passage of 88 days from Norfolk, arrived at the cape with 44 passengers who were immediately landed and placed in the receptacle at Caldwell. This was represented to be a better company, more respected for their habits of industry and propriety of conduct, than the generality of those who had emigrated for some time.

On the 9th of December, the schooner *Orion* arrived from Baltimore with 30 emigrants, all well.

The same day a small tract of land at Grand Cape Mount was formally ceded to the American Colonization Society; healthy, fertile, and very advantageously situated for trade; the possession of this tract was considered a valuable acquisition.

The chiefs of the country, granted an unquestionable title to this land, on the sole condition that settlers should be placed upon it, and that schools should be established for the benefit of the native children. The young men declared their purpose of submitting to the laws of the colony, and their willingness to make further grants of land to any extent desired, whenever the terms of the present negotiation should have been complied with.

The liberality of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society enabled the managers of the American Colonization Society this year to build a schooner for the use of the colony of about 60 tons. She was completed, and sailed from Philadelphia under the command of Capt. Abels with a *colored crew* carrying a valuable supply of trade goods. She was called the *Margaret Mercer*. Two families of colored people embarked in her, one the Rev. W. Johnson's of Con., the other liberated by the Rev. Dr. Mathews of Shepards-town, Virginia. They arrived on the 15th of December.

To the christian who esteems worldly prosperity of little moment in comparison with that blessing of the Lord which

bringeth salvation, the following letter from a colonist will not be uninteresting.

MONROVIA, *December 24, 1831.*

“A great press of wordly business, and a great revival which the Lord was pleased to bless us with last year, and greater part of this, have occupied all my time. Since Captain Sherman was with us, there has been nearly one hundred added to our church. The work began in June 1830, in Monrovia, and lasted till the early part of 1831. It then extended to Caldwell and Cary Town, [New Georgia] a settlement of recaptured Africans. Among the latter it has continued ever since, so they make up the largest number that has been added to the church; and they seem fully to adorn the christian character. They have built themselves a small house of worship, at which they meet regularly on the Lord's day, and twice in the week for prayer. We have appointed one of the most intelligent among them to take the oversight of them, and to exhort them, when none of the preachers are there from Monrovia. Monrovia may truly be said to be a christian community: there is scarcely a family in it, that some one or the whole do not profess religion.

“C. N. WARING.”

1832.

On the 14th of January, 343 emigrants arrived in the *James Perkins*. This vessel was fitted out at short notice, at the earnest request of those who embarked in her, and the unexpected arrival of her large company, in addition to the other recent arrivals, occasioned some embarrassment in providing shelters for them all. Temporary arrangements were, however, made for their accommodation, until a receptacle which had been commenced, should be finished, and some building frames which were brought out in this ship erected. It was an encouraging circumstance that many of this company were farmers, for the time had now come when those who could, must till the soil for a subsistence or starve. More were already engaged in trade than could gain a livelihood by this means.

In February, the schooner *Crawford*, from New Orleans, brought out 22 emigrants under the care of Dr. Shane of Cincinnati. The following was extracted from a letter written by this gentleman from the colony. “I here see many who left the United States in straitened circumstances, living with all the comforts of life around them, enjoying a respectable and useful station in society, and wondering that their brethern in the United States, who have it in their power, do not flee to this asylum of happiness and liberty. I am certain no friend to humanity can come here and

see the state of things, without being impressed with the immense benefits the society is conferring on the long neglected sons of Africa. Nothing, but a want of knowledge of Liberia, prevents thousands of honest, industrious free blacks from coming to this land, where liberty and religion, with all their blessings are enjoyed.' All that is wanting here is industry to make the emigrants not only easy in their circumstances, but wealthy.

In March, the colonists were called to take the field against a combination of the Dey and Gourah Chiefs. Several slaves about to be sold had escaped from King Brumley, and sought protection among the recaptured Africans of the colony. A demand being made for them by Brumley's son, the agent refused to treat with him, but requested the King to visit the colony, and declared himself ready to do justice in the case. Soon after the return of the young man, King Brumley died, and his sons immediately resolved on war. They secured the aid of several of the Dey and Gourah Chiefs, (the latter of which secretly furnished men for the contest,) and commenced aggressions by seizing and imprisoning several of the colonists. A messenger sent to them by the colonial agent was treated with contempt, and the settlements of Caldwell and Millsburg threatened with destruction. About 100 recaptured Africans were sent against the hostile forces, but on approaching the town of a native chief, which had been fortified as a place of retreat for the aggressors, they were repulsed and compelled to retreat with the loss of one man. Prompt and energetic measures were now required; accordingly the agent at the head of 270 men, armed with muskets and a field piece, proceeded towards the fortified town just mentioned, and arriving about midnight, commenced an attack upon the barricade. For twenty minutes the firing on both sides was incessant, and in less than half an hour, the colonists were in possession of the town; with the loss of one man killed, (Lieut. Thompson) and two wounded. Kai Pa, the instigator of the war, received a wound when about to apply the match to a three pounder, which doubtless prevented the destruction of many lives. Of the natives, 15 were killed and many wounded. The courage and ability exhibited by the colonial agent as well as by the officers and men under his command on this occasion, left an impression on the minds of the natives, favorable to the future peace and security of the colony. In a few days, six Dey Chiefs appeared at Monrovia and signed a treaty of peace by which it was agreed that traders from the interior should be allowed a free passage through their territories, and that all matters of difference which might arise between citizens of Liberia and the Dey people, with the evidences thereon, should be referred to the decision of the colonial agent.

A few weeks after this affair with the Dey people, the agent received a message from King Boatswain, expressing his regret that he had not been made acquainted with their hostility, as he would

have rendered it unnecessary for the colonists to march against them.

This spring the agent visited Grand Bassa, and obtained a deed of a tract of land on the south side of the St. John's river, containing from 150 to 200 square miles, together with four large islands in the river a little above Factory Island. The chiefs from whom the purchase was made, agreed to build three large houses in the native style, for the accommodation of the first settlers.

On the 30th of July, the ship Jupiter anchored in the harbor of Monrovia, with 172 emigrants; a part of them suffered from sickness on the passage, and several were infirm when they landed. This was considered one of the most promising expeditions which had been sent out for some time. Several were men of intelligence and education, superior to the generality of their class. They were mostly from Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia.

In contrast to the character of this company was that of the emigrants by the America, 182 in number, who arrived on the 15th of September. The following is the account given of them by the Colonial Agent, in his letter announcing to the Board their arrival: "With respect to the character of the people composing this expedition, I regret to be compelled to state that they are, with the exception of those from Washington, the family of the Pages from Virginia, and a few others, the lowest and most abandoned of their class. From such materials it is in vain to expect that an industrious, intelligent, and enterprising community can possibly be formed; the thing is utterly impracticable, and they cannot but retard instead of advancing the prosperity of the colony. I am induced to be thus unreserved in my remarks, as it is from the sufferings of people of this stamp, occasioned by their own indolence and stupidity, that the slanderous reports circulated in the United States have originated. Our respectable colonists themselves are becoming alarmed at the great number of ignorant and abandoned characters that have arrived within the last twelve months, and almost daily representations are made by those who have applied themselves to the cultivation of the soil, of the depredations committed on their crops by the above described class of people, who cannot be induced to labor for their own support."

The health of the colony had never been better than this year, with the exception of intermittent fever in the summer at Caldwell, attributed to local causes. The diseases of the climate yielded so generally to the skill and attention of the physicians, and the deaths from acclimating fever among the emigrants, by the several late expeditions, had been so very few, that it seemed as if the climate was no longer to be dreaded.

A manifest improvement in the schools was reported this year, and a more general desire of the colonists for the promotion of education. Besides the six day schools for children, there was an

evening school for adults. The female schools at Monrovia and Caldwell, were well conducted, and attended by nearly a hundred girls. The teachers, Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Cesar, were paid by a society of ladies in Philadelphia. At Millsburg, there was no good school, and none of any kind among the recaptured Africans, except Sunday schools, which were well attended and taught by their own people, many of whom could read. Each tribe had a house of worship, and a town or palaver house built by voluntary subscription and joint labor. A street separated the neat and well built villages of the Eboes and Congoes—their farms adjacent to the village were under excellent cultivation, and they were stated to be the most industrious and thriving of any people in the colony, but they had very imperfect notions of republican government. They had several times attempted to choose a chief without success, the minority refusing submission to the person chosen. This year they solicited the colonial agent to superintend their election; it was held in his presence and after he had explained to them the object of an election, and the necessity of submitting to the will of the majority, they appeared perfectly satisfied.

These recaptured Africans not unfrequently procured wives from the adjacent tribes by paying a small sum to the parents of the girl. The women thus obtained were married and dressed according to the customs of the colony, and in a short time adopted the habits of the settlers, so as scarcely to be distinguished from those who had been several years in the United States.

The settlement of Grand Bassa was commenced on the 18th of December, by 38 emigrants, under the most encouraging circumstances. The chiefs and people of the country received them in the most cordial manner; assisted them in building houses, and constructing a barricade upon which their guns were mounted, though there was no prospect of their being required for defence.

Bob Gray one of the chiefs from whom the territory was purchased, had planted a large quantity of cassada and sweet potatoes on their land for the use of the settlers. Mr. Williams, the vice agent, who accompanied these emigrants, performed divine service several times during his stay, and found among the natives (most of whom could speak English,) a numerous and attentive congregation. They were anxious to have a school established among them.

The following extracts of letters written from Monrovia will show how the colonists estimated their own advantages—one wrote to her former mistress in Virginia;—"Our house has one front room, a shed room, and one above stairs. When Mr. Hatter returns, he intends to build a stone house. Our lot is in a very pretty part of the town, and I have a great many very pretty trees growing in it. I send you, by Mr. Hatter, some tortoise shell and a little ivory tooth; and some shells to Miss ——— and ———. *Give my love to them, and tell them I wish they had such a sweet*



reach to take their morning and evening walks on as we have here. My dear mistress, you do not know how thankful I am to you for buying my husband." The same wrote to her sister: "I never was better satisfied in my life, if I only had my dear relations and friends with me. We enjoy the same liberty here that our masters and mistresses do in America. I am so well pleased with my situation I would not change it for all America. You need not be afraid to come; every person has to see trouble and inconvenience at first, in a new country. I have seen about as much trouble as any body, and I know I am satisfied. I get a great deal of work to do. I keep a girl ten years old for her victuals and clothes. I have taught her to read and sew, and she assists me in cooking and cleaning. I have coffee in my lot, a good many other trees, and the guava, which makes nice sweetmeats. If I only had you and your family, mother and her family, and if my dear husband was returned, I should be as happy as the day is long."

Another wrote to his mistress: "It gives me great satisfaction that every thing I do is for myself and my children. I would not give the enjoyment I have had since I have been in Africa for all I have seen in America. I have set out all kinds of trees that are in Africa. As soon as my coffee trees bear I will send you some. We have preaching every Sunday, and prayer meeting every night through the week. Many of the recaptured Africans come to be baptized, and we expect more shortly; they appear to be more diligent than the Americans."

1833.

*Six hundred and forty-nine* emigrants were landed at Monrovia this year, from six different vessels, five of which left the United States the latter part of 1832.

The arrival of so great a number of emigrants in so short a time, had not been anticipated by the Agent, nor were the means provided by the Board sufficient to furnish the provisions and accommodations necessary for the health and comfort of these new comers. The consequence was suffering, discontent, and complaint.

In July, the brig *Ajax* arrived from New Orleans, with a large company of emigrants from Kentucky and Tennessee, nearly all of whom were manumitted, that they might proceed as freemen to Liberia. The entire company were of the most respectable character, and only eleven out of the one hundred and fifty that left the United States, were over forty years of age. They were accompanied by an agent from Tennessee, and Mr. Savage, from Ohio, who had devoted himself to the moral and intellectual improvement of Africa. The cholera was just beginning its ravages in New Orleans at the time the *Ajax* sailed from that port, and twen-

ty-nine of the emigrants fell victims to that disease during the early part of the passage.

A large company of emigrants from South Carolina, were enterprising, intelligent and industrious. Many of them possessed capital. Such as were farmers, drew their plantation lots in a body, for their mutual convenience and benefit.

Agriculture did not, in general, receive the attention which its importance demanded—the mania for trade still prevailing.

The settlement at Grand Bassa increased this year from thirty-three to one hundred and seventy, and the pioneers, already settled on their enclosed town lots, were making commendable progress in agricultural improvements.

Their town, named Edina,\* was laid out on a tongue of land on the north side of the St. Johns, and presented a fine view from the ocean. A short distance from Edina was the native town of Bob Gray, who considered himself highly honored by having Americans so near him. Between the two settlements, was the ancient Devil Bush, of the Grand Bassa people, which they reserved in their sale of lands to the colonists, though it was no longer used for the performance of their superstitious rites. "It is evident," said the editor of the Herald, "to the most casual observer, that the natives in the vicinity of our settlements, are gradually becoming more enlightened, and consequently less observant of their superstitious notions and idolatry. It is pleasing to reflect, that the spot near which the nameless bloody rites of Moloch have been perpetrated for centuries, is soon to be the site of a mission house, which is erecting by the direction of the Rev. Mr. Cox, missionary from the United States." This was the first Methodist missionary to Liberia. He arrived in March, having on his voyage touched at Cape Verds, Batheust, on the Gambia, and Sierra Leone, and conferred with many intelligent and religious men at the English settlements. He regularly organized the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Monrovia, purchased the mission house which was built by Mr. Ashmun, and selected several important points for missionary stations. But his health, which had long been feeble, failed before he had done much towards the accomplishment of his enlarged plans of benevolence, and on the 20th of July, his career of usefulness was closed by death. His own words better express his zeal and devotedness, than a volume written in his praise. "*Let thousands fall before Africa be abandoned.*"

The following paragraph in the Liberia Herald, shows that the colonists themselves were doing something for the missionary cause :

"According to the resolutions of the Managers of the Board of Domestic and Foreign Missions in the town of Monrovia, and colo-

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\*Through the able and generous efforts of Elliott Cresson, large contributions were obtained in England and Scotland, in aid of the American Colonization Society. It was in honor of the liberality of the citizens of Edinburgh, that the name *Edina* was given to the settlement.

ny of Liberia, held on the 17<sup>th</sup> of May, 1833, at the Monrovia Baptist church, Adam W. Anderson, by proposal to said Board, was unanimously appointed a missionary by all present, to locate himself, for the space of one year, at Grand Cape Mount (West Africa) among the Vey people, to teach the children of natives, as far as possible, the English language, and to preach when opportunity would offer itself, to the adult part of the tribe. He will leave Cape Montserado in a few days, in prosecution of so arduous and important a duty. O! may much good be done through his instrumentality, among that idolatrous and perverse people, that the Saviour of mankind might receive abundant honor, even among the Heathen, to His great name."

In regard to the moral and religious condition of the colony generally, but little change had taken place. There were nine houses of worship in the various settlements, and the Sabbath and public worship were well observed.

This was a year of unusual sickness and mortality. Out of the six hundred and forty-nine emigrants that had arrived, one hundred and thirty-four died. Those of no particular class, nor from no particular section of the United States, were exempt from the fatal effects of the fever, though the emigrants from the North suffered most. The colony had been deprived of the services of Drs. Todson and Hall, both having returned to the United States on account of ill health, the duties of physician, for the whole colony, devolved on the agent, Dr. Mecklin, who himself was enfeebled by the fever, caused by exposure. The emigrants were located in settlements widely separated from each other. When attacked with fever, one physician could not, even if in good health, give them proper attention. The emigrants from the South, believing they were in no danger, imprudently exposed themselves to the various exciting causes of the fever, and when attacked, relied for remedies on some of their own company, rather than on the advice of those more experienced.

Among the deaths that occurred this year, none was more lamented than that of Francis Devany, (of consumption.) He was originally a slave, belonging to Langdon Cheves, Esq., of Charleston, S. C., and emigrated to Liberia at an early period of its settlement. He engaged in commerce, and accumulated a handsome fortune. He held for some time the office of high sheriff of the colony, and in the various relations of life, sustained and deserved the character of an honest man.

In their annual report, the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, while they deplored the suffering, and loss of life experienced in the colony, expressed undiminished confidence in the final success of their enterprise, and referred to still more disastrous events in the early history of American Colonization.—The comparative view given by them, was as follows: "The number which had been sent to the colony before the arrival of the expeditions above mentioned, as so severely afflicted, was

1872 persons, and the actual population of the colony (not including the recaptured Africans) in 1832, sixteen hundred and ninety-seven. The whole number of emigrants, including the expeditions of last year, and the recaptured Africans, (a part of whom only were removed from this country,) has been 3123, while the present population of the colony is stated to be 2816. About fifty of the colonists are believed to have been absent in the country, at the time this census was taken. Now, it should not be forgotten, that the early emigrants were exposed to almost every variety of hardship and suffering, that several fell in a contest with the natives, that from twenty to fifty at least, have returned, that some have perished by disasters upon the rivers and at sea, that all have had to contend with difficulties, inseparable from their enterprise, in an untried climate, and on a distant and uncultivated shore, and finally, that neither the information nor the pecuniary means of the Society, have at all times been such, as to enable it adequately, to fulfil the dictates of its own benevolence.

While the facts just stated, must excite painful emotions in the breast of every member of this Society, while all will feel that human life is not to be wantonly exposed or lightly regarded, neither (the Managers may be permitted to say,) on account of ordinary or temporary calamities, should a great case, undertaken from the purest motives, and for purposes of large and lasting good to mankind, be abandoned. The history of Colonization in America, proves how impotent were events, in themselves most afflictive and disheartening, to arrest the progress of settlements founded by men who grew wise in adversity, and gathered resolution and strength from defeat. The genius of our nation sprung from the colonies of Plymouth and Jamestown, rebukes the despondency which would augur destruction to Liberia, because dark clouds have hung over it, and many valuable lives perished in laying its foundation. Nearly one half the first Plymouth emigrants died in the course of four months. The first three attempts to plant a colony in Virginia, totally failed. In six months, ninety of the one hundred settlers who landed at Jamestown died. Subsequently, in the same brief period, the inhabitants of this colony were reduced from five hundred to sixty; and long after, when £150,000 had been expended on that colony, and nine thousand people had been sent thither, its population amounted to but 1800 souls."

The report of Capt. Voorhees, of the U. S. ship John Adams, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated 14th of December, 1833, gave some interesting facts in relation to the condition of the colony.— "The importance of this settlement here, is daily developing itself, in various ways, and is always felt as a refuge of security and hospitality, both to the oppressed natives and the shipwrecked mariner. Lately a French oil ship was cast away to the south of Grand Bassa, where the crew, about twenty in number, were kindly received by the settlers at that place, and from which they safely travelled, uninterrupted, along the sea shore to Monrovia. Here

the generous hospitality of the people of Liberia, (though with humble means, and at their own expense,) prompted them to fit out a conveyance for the seamen, by the Government schooner, in which they were carried to their own settlement of Goree. And on our arrival here, I found a French man of war barque, the commander of which had been despatched by the Governor of Goree, to express the thanks of his country to the people of Liberia, for the charitable services which they had rendered their countrymen.

Monrovia appears to be in a thriving condition, and bears an air of comfort and neatness in the dwellings quite surprising. Several stone warehouses and stone wharves line the banks of the river; others are building, which, with schooners loading and unloading or repairing, afford an aspect and an air of business common to a respectable white population. All seem to be employed, good order and morality prevailing throughout. But cultivators of the soil are mostly needed here. A few mechanics might do well, such as ship-carpenters, blacksmiths, sail-makers, boat-builders, masons and house-carpenters. The settlement must move onwards, and with all its disadvantages, it appears a miracle, that it should be in such a state of advancement.

An intelligent man, about 60 years of age, with whom I conversed, stated that he had been here about eighteen months, and was getting on cleverly for himself and family, and that on no account would he return to the United States. "It was true he had not yet the luxuries nor the accommodations which he had been accustomed to in America, but the want of these were not to be brought into competition with his rights and privileges as a man in Liberia; for here only, in the consciousness of having no superior, did he feel himself a MAN, or had he ever before known what it was to be truly happy."

The colonial agent, Dr. Mecklin, who had done much to enlarge the territory and extend the influence of the colony, returned to the United States, and resigned his office as colonial agent. His health had been impaired by the arduous labors of his station, and the influence of the climate. A removal from a tropical region, seemed to offer the only hope of his recovery.

1834.

The first day of this year welcomed the arrival of a new colonial agent, the Rev. J. B. Pinney, which is thus announced in the Liberia Herald for January. "On the 31st ult. the ship Jupiter arrived in our harbor, having on board, as passengers, Rev. J. B. Pinney, recently appointed colonial agent by the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, Dr. G. P. Todsen, colonial physician, Rev. Messrs. Spaulding and Wright, with their ladies, and Miss Ferington, missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal church, Rev. Mr. Laird and lady, Rev. Messrs. Cloud and Temple, missionaries of the Presbyterian church,

and Messrs. Williams and Roberts of this colony. The Jupiter also brings out about fifty emigrants. On New Year's day, at 10 o'clock, A. M. the new agency boat, recently procured from the U. States' ship John Adams, was despatched to the ship Jupiter, for the colonial agent, Rev. J. B. Pinney. About noon, he landed at Waring's wharf, where he was received by the civil and military officers, and the different uniform companies of the colony; he was then escorted to the agency house, where he was welcomed by the acting agent, G. R. McGill, Esq. Minute guns were fired from the time the boat left the ship till she arrived at the wharf."

Mr. Pinney had visited Liberia the preceding year as a missionary, and after examining several places on the coast and in the interior, and making arrangements for the prosecution of his work, he returned to the United States to improve his impaired health, report his prospects, and obtain associates in his enterprise. At the earnest solicitation of the Board, he accepted a temporary agency; on his arrival, he immediately applied himself to the discharge of his duties, which were arduous indeed. The agency house and other public buildings needed repairs, to render them fit for occupancy. The public store was without trade goods, the provisions were nearly exhausted, the paupers, or those who were a charge on the colony, were numerous, and badly provided for, and the public schooner used in obtaining provisions coast-wise, could not be used without expensive repairs. Late changes in the mode of appointing officers, and in the local regulations among the recaptured Africans, who were of different tribes, had produced dissatisfaction, and they were in a state of great disorder. The financial affairs of the colony were in great derangement. The mode of compensating officers employed by the Society, had induced speculation, and orders of the former agent, to the amount of several thousand dollars, were held by colonists, clamorous for their pay. The want of correct surveys, maps and land-marks, was a source of great trouble, among both farmers and owners of town lots; the field notes of the original surveys having been lost, it was impossible to settle the bounds of lots; and as the lots and farms had increased in value, the difficulty was the more felt. Mr. Pinney corrected many abuses, satisfied the public creditors, and relieved the sufferings of the poor; but in accomplishing this, he only consolidated the colonial debt by drafts on the treasury of the Society. This debt had been accumulating for the last two years, the funds of the Society being insufficient to meet the expenses of sending out, and providing for the unusual number of emigrants which had arrived during that time. To make the expenses on the public buildings, and provide for the various and necessary repairs of the colony, he was under the necessity of negotiating drafts on the treasury of the Society for \$11,000 over and above all means furnished him by the Board of Managers. He succeeded in restoring order among the recaptured Africans, by allowing the Congoes and Eboes each to elect their own civil officers. Although these people had made

great advances in civilization, their notions of caste were, to some extent, still retained. The farms and lots were resurveyed and permanent land-marks established.

In addition to the emigrants by the *Jupiter*, another company of about fifty arrived this winter in the *Argus*. These were the last that came out this year, under the patronage of the American Colonization Society.

An expedition sent out in the brig *Ann*, by the Maryland Colonization Society, to form an independent settlement, after visiting Monrovia and Grand Bassa, and taking with them twenty or thirty acclimated citizens proceeded to Cape Palmas, where they arrived on the 11th of February. This Society had taken every precaution to insure the success of their colony. They furnished a large stock of trade goods, tools and agricultural implements; the emigrants were well selected, and the Society was fortunate in securing the services of an excellent agent, Dr. Hall, whom they instructed to exclude ardent spirits in trading with the natives. He succeeded in procuring an eligible tract of land on the Cavally river, well adapted to agriculture, to which employment the industry of colonists was to be exclusively directed. The native kings, from whom the purchase was made, expressed much satisfaction at the proposal of the Americans to settle among them, and a great desire for the establishment of schools. Messrs. Wilson and Wynkoop, who accompanied the expedition, after taking a survey of the coast from Monrovia to Cape Palmas, with reference to a missionary establishment, returned to the United States.

In the summer, the *Jupiter* returned to Monrovia with stores, agricultural implements and trade goods, to the amount of \$7,000. Among her passengers, were Rev. Ezekiel Skinner, missionary and physician, Dr. McDowall, a physician from Scotland, and Charles H. Webb, one of the colored medical students, educated by the Board, and who was to complete the study of his profession in the colony. Mr. Searle and Mr. Finley, both young men of liberal education, came out as teachers, under the patronage of the Ladies' Association of New York city.

Mr. Pinney's health was so bad during this summer, as to render him incapable of attending to his public duties, and several works and improvements which he had commenced, were consequently retarded or suspended. Dr. Skinner was employed to aid in the transaction of public business, while, at the same time, he successfully pursued the practice of his profession as a physician, and attended to his missionary duties.

Mr. Seys of the Methodist Episcopal church, appointed to the charge of their Liberia mission, arrived in October. A more judicious selection could scarcely have been made. A native of the West Indies, he had nothing to fear from the climate; was acquainted with the agriculture of tropical latitudes, experienced in business, industrious and persevering, conciliating in his manners, and a zealous christian. He visited the various settlements, and in

a few weeks after his arrival, had established a school at New Georgia, in which twenty-eight children and fifty-eight adults were taught—and one at Edina with forty-three scholars.

The Colonial Council had passed an ordinance for the suspension of the public schools, until some plan should be devised for conducting them more successfully. There was a great want of suitable teachers, school books and stationery; and beside, the council wished to appropriate the public funds to the erection of a new court-house and jail.

The girls' schools, at Monrovia and Caldwell, were flourishing. An interesting notice was given of them in the following extract of a letter, written by an old and respectable colonist:

"I am happy to inform you, that the schools supported by the ladies of Philadelphia, continue to exert the most beneficial influence on our rising generation, and many will live to bless the name of Beulah Sansom. We had an exhibition of Mrs. Thompson's school, in the Methodist meeting house, and I cannot express the great interest felt on the occasion. Our ware-houses were shut up, so that all might attend. It was very largely attended, although each had to pay twelve and a half cents. Mr. Eden's school, at New Georgia, among the recaptured Africans, is doing well. Our new and excellent Governor Pinney, is quite indefatigable in his labors to push forward the interests of the colony, and strongly reminds us of the sainted Ashmun. He has determined upon taking measures to re-establish a public farm near Caldwell, on the plan of Mr. Ashmun, where all idle persons and vagrants may be placed. Many persons are going to farming, and I am within bounds when I say that three times the quantity of ground will be put under cultivation this season, over any preceding year."

The cause of African missions suffered severely this year, by the death of the Rev. Mr. Laird and wife, and the Rev. Mr. Cloud, of the Presbyterian church, and the Rev. Mr. Wright and wife, of the Methodist Episcopal church, individuals who, by their talents, zeal and piety, were qualified for extensive usefulness in the work to which their lives were cheerfully devoted.

There had been a number of deaths among the emigrants who came out in the Argus, but few instances of mortality had since occurred; among these were the death of Rev. C. M. Waring; who emigrated from Virginia in 1823, pastor of the first Baptist Church, member of the Colonial Council, and who had twice filled the office of Vice Agent; and the Rev. G. V. Cesar, from Connecticut, a minister of the Episcopal Church, and Surveyor of the Colony. Charles H. Webb, who promised to be very serviceable to the Colony in the practice of medicine, fell a victim to the local fever, or to his own imprudence while it was upon him.

A very valuable tract of land at Bassa Cove was purchased for the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, whereon to establish a Colony. This was deemed as favorable a location



for a settlement as any on the coast of Western Africa. The land was rich, lying on the St. John's river, which affords boat navigation far into the interior; the anchorage in the roadstead good; the sites for towns on the sea coast eligible. The first expedition to this place was by the ship *Ninus*, which carried out 126 emigrants, 110 of whom were manumitted slaves, freed by the will of Dr. Hawes, of Virginia. They were settled under the agency of Dr. McDowall, and it is worthy of remark that the planting of this Colony broke up an extensive slave factory. This settlement was made on strict Temperance and Peace principles, furnished with neither arms nor liquors.

The native tribes on the sea coast who had leagued together ten years before to destroy the colonists, and met with such signal defeat, had ever since courted their favor, and to save themselves from the attacks of the more powerful nations in the interior, had applied for the protection of the Colonies, which was extended to ten kings and head men with their people; all of whom were subject to the jurisdiction of the Colony, and enjoyed the protection of their laws.

Dr. Skinner's opinion of the influence of colonization in ameliorating the condition of the native Africans is forcibly expressed in the following extract:

"I become daily more convinced that the Colonization cause is the cause of God. Slavery in a form, far more horrid than in the United States, exists in an unknown extent, spread over this vast continent. A general effort to civilize and christianize the natives, is the only means of putting it down. Slave factories are established all along the coast, *Liberia only excepted*, from which thousands every year are carried into perpetual bondage. There is no other conceivable means to abolish it but by the establishment of colonies on the coast. I would aid the cause of christianity and colonization here, if Jew or infidel, and so would every man that knew the facts, and had the least regard for the temporal welfare of millions that are in this land. Had I a thousand lives I would devote them all in such an enterprise as is now going forward here. All the money necessary would be furnished, did the christian public know the facts, and what was needed. That there are difficulties in our way is true, and that there has been some bad management here is also true; but shall these things discourage us, and lead us to give up the only conceivable means of meliorating the condition of millions of our fellow men? Shall we forsake the last plank, the only ground of hope, for causes such as these? What would have been the fate of christianity had such been the dastardly spirit of its first propagators?"

1835.

At the annual meeting of the Colonial Council in January, an

ordinance was passed giving township powers to the various settlements. This was considered a favorable measure for the cause of Temperance as it enabled the several corporations to prohibit the introduction of ardent spirits by fines. It also gave them power to levy taxes for the support of schools, and the building of roads, bridges, &c.

An important improvement was made in the judiciary by creating a Court of Appeals, which measure, however, was not carried, without considerable and warm debate.

The Temperance cause had become the subject of much interest in the Colony. Two meetings were held in January for the purpose of promoting it; a Society was formed, and other measures used to enlist popular feeling in its favor. The Society, which at first consisted of 43 persons, was soon increased to 503, upon the pledge of total abstinence. A Temperance Society was also formed at Edina this year. Captain Outerbridge, of the brig *Rover*, who spent some time at Monrovia, wrote, "I saw but one man the worse for liquor while I was at Monrovia, that is, among the Americans, but before I arrived I expected to see them lying about the streets drunk as we do in the States."

On the 18th of January, the brig *Bourne*, of Baltimore, touched at Monrovia on her way to Cape Palmas, with 54 emigrants.

In April, the brig *Rover*, from New Orleans, arrived at Monrovia with 71 emigrants. These were not inferior in good character and intelligence to any company of emigrants that had ever come to the Colony. At a public meeting held at New Orleans before their departure, they all formed themselves into a Temperance Society on the principle of total abstinence; some of them possessed considerable property.

The August number of the *Liberia Herald* (edited at this time by Hilleary Teage) announces the following arrivals:

"On the 9th instant, the brig *Louisiana*, Captain Williams, arrived from Norfolk, Virginia, with 46 emigrants, 38 of whom are recaptured Africans, principally, we believe, from the Nunez and Pongas. They are a strolling people. A number of their countrymen, and among them some acquaintances, have found their way to this settlement. They were hailed by their redeemed brethren with the most extravagant expressions of joy."

On the 12th instant, the *Susan Elizabeth*, Captain Lawlin, arrived from New York. Passengers, Dr. E. Skinner, Colonial Agent, and daughter. Rev. Mr. Seys and family, of the Methodist Episcopal mission. Rev. Messrs. Crocher, and Myln and lady, of the Baptist mission. We hail with joy the arrival of the passengers by this vessel. We are led to hope that this portion of the moral vineyard is about to be regarded with special interest. Surely if any portion of the earth has a claim upon another, Africa has a claim upon the United States.

On the 14th instant, the schooner *Harmony*, Captain Paschal, from Baltimore, with 27 emigrants for Cape Palmas, arrived. This

expedition has been long expected at Cape Palmas, and will, no doubt, prove an acceptable reinforcement to Dr. Hall.

On the 19th instant, ship *Indiana*, Captain Wood, arrived from Savannah, with 65 emigrants, among whom was Dr. Davis and family.

These repeated arrivals, following so closely in the track of each other, seem to have given some degree of uneasiness to the natives. They do not understand it; and imagining that Americans move by the same principles that they do, that is to say, animal motives, they conclude that "Rice be done for big 'Merica," and hope they will plant more next year, or "black man will no have place for set down."

Owing to the unfortunate result of the noble and benevolent experiment at Bassa Cove, the emigrants were landed at this place, to wait, as we suppose, orders from home.

The Bassa Cove settlement had not been provided with the means of defence. The great anxiety expressed by the native kings to have a colony planted at that place, and their solemn pledges to protect it, induced the Pennsylvania Society to rely on their good faith; and when the colonists complained that a hostile disposition was manifested by the natives, the Agent, Mr. Hankinson, took no measures of precaution, and even refused the proffered assistance of the people of Edina, who tendered their services to defend the colony. On the same night the natives, under King Jo Harris, and his brother, King Peter Harris, attacked the colony, murdered twenty of the defenceless inhabitants, and burnt the town. The Agent, Mr. Hankinson, and lady, were saved by the friendly aid of a Kroo, who concealed them and secured their escape. This murderous act was induced by a slave trader, who, on coming to anchor in the harbor, discovered that a colony of Americans had been planted on the river, and refused to land his goods, alleging that the colonists would interrupt his trade. King Jo Harris finding that the trade in slaves was likely to be thus cut off, resolved on the destruction of the settlement. Had the colonists been armed the attack would not probably have been made. One gun owned by a colonist, and often used by his next neighbor, (which fact had been noticed by some of the natives,) saved both houses unmolested, and the families uninjured. The colonists who escaped, were carried to Monrovia, and their wants provided for. The Agent at Monrovia took immediate measures to chastise the people who had committed this outrage. After demanding redress, which was refused, an armed force was marched against the aggressors, who were routed and their towns destroyed. The offending kings gladly accepted a peace, agreeing to abandon the slave trade forever, and to permit the interior natives to pass through their country to trade with the colony, and, also, to build a number of houses to replace those destroyed, and pay for or return the property carried away. As soon as peace was concluded, the Agent of the American Colonization Society,

Dr. Skinner, proceeded to lay out a town on a site which he described as healthy and beautiful. A part of the town plot was cleared, and buildings commenced for the reception of the dispersed citizens.

The native kings in the neighborhood of Cape Mount, were engaged in a bloody war, carried on with more than ordinary ferocity; and King Boatswain was at war with several of the more interior nations, who had leagued together to resist this tyrant and prince of slave-dealers. Commissioners were sent out by the Colonial Agent, to negotiate a peace. They were well received, but unsuccessful in their mission.

A school was established on the Junk river for the instruction of the natives, by Mr. and Mrs. Titler, (colored people,) under the patronage of the Western Board of Foreign Missions, with very encouraging prospects of success. The head men provided the missionaries with a house, and promised a supply of rice and other necessary provisions for the pupils. The natives placed their girls as well as boys under the missionaries to learn "white man fash."

The several schools in the colony, supported by benevolent people in the United States, were prosperous. But had the colonists been able duly to appreciate the importance of public schools, it was impossible to obtain a sufficient number of suitable teachers from among themselves.

For a considerable time dissatisfaction had been expressed by some of the colonists, with the administration of the Government, and as the executive power was vested in the Colonial Agent, who was often changed, and much of the time when in discharge of his official duties, was enfeebled by sickness, no doubt some ground for dissatisfaction existed. It was equally probable that men, having so recently commenced the study and practice of republicanism, should mistake salutary restraints for oppression, and regard as tyrants those who enforced obedience to necessary laws. Nor was it an easy task to furnish laws suited to the peculiar circumstances of the colonists; and when defects were ascertained, much time necessarily elapsed before the evil could be remedied. It was, however, creditable to the colonists that their real or supposed grievances gave rise to no violent measures for redress.

This year the fifth Baptist Church in the colony was formed at Caldwell, and the first annual meeting of the Liberia Baptist Association held at Monrovia, in October, which was a joyful and profitable season. Quarterly and protracted meetings were held this fall in the Methodist Churches, which were greatly blessed; and there were revivals of religion in nearly all the settlements.

1836.

*Most of the settlers had returned to Bassa Cove. They were*

greatly assisted in establishing themselves by Dr. Skinner. Soon after his return from that settlement he had the pleasure of welcoming Thomas Buchanan, Agent of the New York and Pennsylvania Societies, who arrived at Monrovia on the first of January, with abundant supplies for the relief of their infant colony. After collecting the remaining emigrants from Monrovia and the surrounding settlements, he proceeded, on the 8th instant, to Bassa Cove.

A much more eligible site for a town was now selected at the mouth of the St. John's, about three miles distant from that on which the first company had located. By the activity and perseverance of the Agent, the settlement was soon put in a condition to defy attacks from the natives. The settlers were placed in comfortable houses, and busily engaged in clearing and cultivating their farms; public buildings were erected, the necessary officers appointed to administer the laws, a church built, the town plot cleared, and the native kings who had destroyed the settlement, compelled to fulfil the stipulations of their treaty, by which they were bound to pay for property destroyed or carried away. A profitable trade was opened with the natives in the interior, and a valuable accession of territory acquired, lying around the bight of the Cove, adjoining the former purchase, and extending along the sea coast ten or twelve miles. The acquisition of this territory gave the colony jurisdiction over the only place accessible to the slavers in that vicinity, and was considered very important as the site of a sea port town.

The tract of land near the mouth of the Junk river, which had been bought by Mr. Pinney, and the title, afterwards disputed by some of the Junk people, was this year secured to the Society by farther negotiations, on terms satisfactory to the former claimants. A town of more than a mile square, was laid off in three hundred and ninety-two lots during the spring, and a number of the colonists and recaptured Africans commenced the settlement of Marshall. This place was beautifully situated, on rising ground, between the Junk and Red Junk rivers, and fanned by fresh breezes from the ocean.

In April, the brig *Luna*, from Norfolk, arrived at Monrovia, bringing 82 emigrants, a majority of whom were young men, and several preachers of the gospel. One of them, the Rev. B. R. Wilson, a missionary of the Methodist church, had spent several months in the colony, and returned to the United States for his family.— This company of emigrants was destined for the new settlement at Marshall, but circumstances detained them at Monrovia until they had taken the fever of the country, which, in several cases, proved fatal.

In July, 42 emigrants arrived in the schooner *Swift*, from New Orleans. The character of this company was equally good as that of the preceding arrival. Most of them were industrious, and

accustomed to work on plantations. They settled immediately at Millsburg.

In August, the brig *Luna*, from New York, brought 84 emigrants to Bassa Cove. They arrived in good health and spirits, and, being principally industrious and intelligent farmers, were a valuable acquisition to the settlement.

Dr. Skinner purchased a small tract of land for the American Colonization Society, in the neighborhood of Edina, on the margin of the bay which forms the outlet of St. John's river.

At the request of the Mississippi Society, he also purchased a tract of land from the natives, on the river Sinoe, about half way between Bassa Cove and Cape Palmas, as the site of a settlement to be established by that society, and appointed D. Johnson, an intelligent Monrovia, to prepare for the accommodation of emigrants.

The conflicting claims for lots and farms, which grew out of hasty and imperfect surveys, frequent changes of agents, and carelessness in keeping records, had become a fruitful source of difficulty. Notwithstanding all that had been done by his predecessor, Dr. Skinner had much labor in resurveying lands, and making equitable settlements between contending parties. Persevering in his labors, after his exposure, had brought on repeated attacks of fever, he was at length so reduced as to be obliged to leave the colony and return to the United States.

On his departure, the administration of Government devolved on A. D. Williams, the Lieutenant Governor. This title and that of Governor had, by order of the Board, superseded those of agent and vice agent.

The revenue arising from imports this year, was \$3,500, applicable to colonial improvements and payment of the salaries of certain officers. It had been expended in a way not satisfactory to the Legislative Council; the money had disappeared, but the vouchers of the disbursing officers did not cover the amount which came into their hands. The editor of the *Herald*, after noticing the squabbles in the United States, relative to the "Sub-Treasury," remarked that "their treasury was all *sub*."

But, although speculation and fraud might have sometimes been committed by the receiving or disbursing officers, these practices were not without precedent in governments farther advanced in political science; and, however imperfect the system of finance adopted by the colonial legislature, the general adaptedness of their laws to the condition and wants of the people, would not suffer, by comparison with the colonial legislation of the United States.— Their laws for the collection of debts, enforcing the fulfilment of contracts, securing persons and property, prove that the colonists are not incapable of self-government.

The first murder that ever occurred in the colony, was committed this year. A recaptured African, of the Congo tribe, named *Joe Waldburgh*, was murdered by an Ebo, named *John Demony*;

at the instigation of Waldburgh's wife. The crime was marked by the most aggravating circumstances. The parties were tried, Governor Skinner presiding, and condemned to be hung. The execution took place on the 22d of July.

The wars among the natives, which continued with little interruption, subjected the colonists to great inconvenience. Natives, under the protection of the colony, were sometimes seized and sold to the slave dealers, by whom every effort was made to set the natives against the colonists. Scarcity of provisions among the natives led some of them to make depredations upon the plantations of Millsburg and Caldwell. Rice was scarce and dear in the colony, which occasioned much suffering, especially among the poorer classes. In November, some of the paupers were placed on the public farm, where they could be employed to advantage, with the prospect of soon being fed from the cassada and other vegetables, several acres of which had been planted for their use.

The Maryland colony at Cape Palmas continued to prosper. From the commencement of this settlement, in 1833, the society had sent out seven expeditions, containing in all about three hundred emigrants. The village of Harper contained about twenty-five private houses, and several public buildings; a public farm of ten acres had been cleared, and about thirty acres put under cultivation by the colonists. Their influence on the natives was salutary: schools were established in the settlement, and the people were pronounced, by their late intelligent Governor, Dr. Hall, moral, industrious, religious, and happy. This gentleman had resigned his office, and J. B. Russwurm, former editor of the Liberia Herald, was appointed to that station.

The mission in this settlement, established by Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, was most successfully conducted. In addition to the missionaries already engaged in their work, the brig Niobe, from Baltimore, which arrived in December with 32 emigrants, brought out Thomas Savage, M. D., missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Reverend D. White and Lady, missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Mr. James, a colored printer, sent out by the same Board as an assistant missionary, and Mr. David James, a colored missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The blessings flowing from Christian ordinances and Christian communion, continued to be enjoyed in all the settlements. The heathen around and in the midst of them were not neglected by the ministers of Christ, and the zeal of the missionaries was unabated. The Reverend Mr. Seys, who had recently returned from a visit to the United States, and brought with him one white and one colored Methodist preacher, wrote under date of December 21: "I preached in Krootown, this afternoon, to a congregation of Kroomen. I spoke without an interpreter, in broken English, compounded of the most common terms of our language, and many that are peculiar to the African, and were familiar to me from my

infancy. They listened to us with deep attention, and when we went to prayer, in conclusion, they came around us, and not content to kneel simply, they bowed down their faces to the earth.

“Let me urge it upon the Church to have pity upon this intelligent and teachable tribe. O send us a missionary for Kroo Settra. They beg, they intreat us to send them a teacher—a man of God. We shall make an additional effort to plant the standard of the Redeemer among the Condoes.”

The following will show the kind of influence which the colonists have over the natives :

Dr. Hall, Governor of the Maryland colony, finding the subjects of his neighbor, King Freeman, to be very great thieves, and being much annoyed by their continual pilfering, determined to make the king pay for the articles stolen by his people. The King complied for sometime. The demands, however, became so frequent, that he at length objected. The Doctor told him that as he was king, he could make such laws as he pleased, and that if he did not make laws to surrender the thieves to him for punishment, he would hold him responsible. The king made many inquiries of the Doctor in relation to his laws, where he got them, the manner of executing them, &c. On being informed that they were made by the Society's Board at Baltimore, King Freeman resolved to send his head man, Simleh Balla, to Baltimore to get him a book of laws. Simleh visited Baltimore, was introduced to the Board, and delivered the following speech (as nearly as it could be written :)

“I be Balla, head-man for King Freeman of Cape Palmas. Him send me this country. I come for peak his word. Pose him sava book, I no come ; he make book and send him ; but cause he no sava make book, I come for look country and peak him words.

Long time past, slave man come we country. He do we bad too much, he make slave, he tief plenty man for sell. By and by all slave man knock off. This time we no sell slave, no man come for tief him. All man glad this palaver done sit. Beside that we have plenty trouble. All man have to go for ship for get him ting, iron, cloth, tobacco, guns, powder, and plenty, plenty little ting. Some time canoe capsize, man lose all him money. Some time he die, plenty water kill him ; him can't come up. This hurt we too much, and make we heart sorry. By and by one white man come we country. He bring plenty black American man. Him buy we country, we give him land for sit down. Him say he come for do country good. Him build house—put all him money shore—make farm—make road—make all country fine. This time all good ting live shore—no more go ship. Ebery man can buy that ting him want. No money lose—no man lose. This make all men heart glad—made king's heart glad. King tell me, ‘Balla, go that country : see how this ting be. Tell them people all we heart say. Thank him for that good ting them do for we country. Beg him for send more man, for make house, make



farm—for bring money, and for make all ittle child sava read book, all same America men. I done.’ ”

The Board kindly furnished a simple penal code in language that the natives could understand. On reading it to Simleh, the clause limiting every man to one wife alarmed him, and he expressed his disapprobation in the following language :

“ ‘No good for my countryman.’ ‘Why not, Simleh?’ ‘Me tell you. I got four wives. Spose I send three away, and keep Bana—she pretty—she young—no man give ’em rice—no man take care of ’em—they die—pickaninny die too—no good law that? There was so much reason in his objection, that an immediate reply was not made to him, and after a shot pause, he went on—‘ Me tell you, Spose that law no good law for me—well—that law good for my son—he pickaninny now—got no wife—by-um-by he want wife—I say, King Freeman say you only have one wife—so all men. When I got my four wives, I no saba that law. When my son get wife, he saba law—he do what law say. Yes, that good law for time come.’ Simleh’s idea of an *ex post facto* law was correct, and he was instructed to explain this article of the code to King Freeman as prospective only in its operation.

After the return of Simleh to King Freeman, the laws being adopted and found to be popular and productive of the happiest results, the King applied to the Rev. Mr. Wilson to write him a letter of thanks to the Board at Baltimore, as follows :

“ *King Freeman to the gentlemen of the Colonization Board of Baltimore—Naheveo, (greeting :*

Mr. Wilson be hand for me and Simleh Balla be mout for me for make dis book, but de word come from me own heart. He be true I send Balla for look you—he eye be all same me eye, and dat word he peak be all same he come out me own mout. You do Balla good when he lib to your hand, dat be all same you do good for King Freeman. I tank you for dat, Balla tell me you hab fine country, I believe what he say, cause he no fit for tell lie. I tank you berry much, gentlemen, for demdash you send me. I like um plenty and go keep um all de time. But I tank you berry much for dem law you send me—he be good law and all my people go do him. Pos’ I hab dem law first time I no go do fool fash all time—dis time I go make all me people do dat ting what you law tell me. I tank you plenty gentlemen, for dem good law. I tell all man go hear Misser Wilson talk God palaver, and yiserday so much man go till plenty hab for to stand outside de house.

Soon Balla go for Merica first time me go long way bush and tell all man say he must make fine road and bring plenty trade for Cape Palmas. Me heart tink say he guin do him soon.

Me hear you say you hab plenty slave in you country. Me hab one word for peak dem. You must come me country den you be *freeman* for true. Dis country be big and plenty room lib here. Pos you come, I peak true, me heart be glad plenty for look you.

'Pos any gentleman want come me want him for come too—  
me heart glad for see dem too much.

Me word be done now—I tank you berry much for you dash  
and you law. I go lub you till me dead. Me send you one  
country chair for you look at. Me go put pickinniny country  
word for you see.

A good child loves his father, he loves his mother.

KING FREEMAN, *alias* PA NIMMAH."

1837.

The Rondoubt, from Wilmington, N. C. arrived at Monrovia  
on the 4th of February with 30 emigrants. Dr. D. F. Bacon,  
who had been appointed Colonial physician, came out in this  
vessel, and immediately entered upon his professional duties.  
The following is extracted from his communication to the Board,  
dated February 15 :

"I found the Colony in a peaceful, prosperous, and healthy con-  
dition. The public prosperity and general comfort have been  
greatly promoted under the faithful and active government of  
Mr. Williams, whose business-like management has effected a  
reform in affairs that has given me a satisfaction which I know  
the Board and all the friends of the Colony will share on per-  
ceiving the results as reported by him officially. In my own  
department I have found much that required active attention ; for  
although there is not a single case of the common fever in the  
Colony, (unless at Edina from which I have not yet heard,) there  
are in all this section, besides a few light cases of croup, about  
fifteen or twenty cases of chronic disorders resulting from debility,  
mostly in old broken down constitutions, which have been long  
suffering for want of the aid of a regular physician ; the Colony  
having been left entirely to the medical assistants ever since the  
departure of Dr. Skinner in September.

The people, in general, I believe to be remarkably quiet, inoffen-  
sive, and peaceable, more so than in any part of the United States  
where I have lived. Ever since I have established myself on  
shore, all have combined to treat me with the greatest attention  
and kindness ; and since beginning my business here as physician  
I have met with nothing but the most polite and civil usage. My  
medical assistants in this quarter, Messrs. Prout, Brown, and  
Chase, have been very polite and attentive, and have promptly  
pledged themselves to become active and serviceable to the Colony  
under my directions." Dr. McDowall left your service long  
since, and resides wholly at Bassa Cove."

The Governor, in his official communication of the same date,  
wrote, "I am happy in being able to say that at present the Colony  
is peaceful and tranquil. A growing attention still continues to be  
paid to Agriculture ; indeed the whole community seems to be

awaking to the subject. No former period of the Colony can boast of as great an extent of land under tillage as at present.

In order to afford some encouragement to the settlers at Junk, as well as to prevent their eating the bread of idleness at the expense of the Society, I have established a farm there, on which they will work a part of the time in return for the articles with which the store there may provide them. The emigrants by the Swift have proved themselves an industrious, thrifty people. They have already raised two crops of culinary vegetables and other produce. The farm established on Bushrod Island is doing remarkably well, and will, I think, realize my former hope respecting it. All the paupers that require constant assistance are now on the farm, and those able to labor have their work regularly assigned to them. You will be astonished, no doubt, when I inform you that the former fearful number of mendicants has dwindled, since the commencement of this system, to twenty, including those who are only occasionally beneficiaries.

The emigrants by the Rondout are located at Millsburg, and already have their town lots assigned them; they will have their farms in a few days."

In May an Agricultural Society was formed. One of the conditions of membership was a subscription of five hundred dollars to a joint stock fund to be paid in quarterly payments. The object of this Society was the cultivation of the sugar cane, and the manufacture of sugar. Stock was taken by the most wealthy and enterprising inhabitants, and the investment promised to be advantageous both to the stockholders and the Colony.

In June there were twenty acres of the public farm under successful cultivation, six acres of which were in sugar cane. The crops on the public farm at Junk were also promising. With a view to encourage agriculture and the raising of stock, twenty acres, instead of five, were allotted to those who had not before drawn farms, on condition that deeds should not be given until five acres were under good cultivation.

There were 450 acres of land under excellent cultivation in the Colony, exclusive of the settlements of Edina and Bassa Cove; at both of which places they were applying themselves successfully to agriculture. At Bassa Cove there were ten acres of rice in one field.

Owing to the wars, which for the last two years had raged with little intermission along the coast, the natives were nearly in a state of starvation, and the Caldwell and New Georgia people had for some months supplied them with cassada, which was almost the only article of provision that could be obtained. Rice was very scarce.

The Mississippi Society fitted out a company of emigrants for their new settlement on the Sinoe, which sailed in the Oriental from New Orleans in April, under the care of J. F. C. Finley. They arrived unexpectedly at Monrovia, where they were obliged

to remain some time before proceeding to their place of destination.

In the summer the brig Baltimore brought 55 emigrants to the Maryland Colony. A majority of these were emancipated by the will of Richard Tubman, Esq., of Georgia, on condition of their emigrating to Liberia, and ten thousand dollars bequeathed to the Colonization Society for the expenses of their emigration and settlement. They were of good character, and experienced cotton planters. Many of them were acquainted with some trade.

The Charlotte Harper arrived on the 4th of August, at Bassa Cove, with supplies for the colony to the amount of \$10,000. The passengers in this vessel were the Rev. John J. Matthias, who had been appointed Governor of the colony, and his wife, Dr. Wesley Johnson, assistant physician to the colony, David Thomas, millwright, Misses Annesley, Beers, and Wilkins, teachers, and Dr. S. M. E. Goheen, physician to the Methodist Mission, at Monrovia, and four colored emigrants.

The thriving settlement of Edina, separated by the St. John's River from that of Bassa Cove, was this year, by an arrangement entered into between the American Colonization Society and the Pennsylvania and New York Society, transferred to the latter Society, the people of Edina consenting thereto. This was a favorable arrangement for both settlements, as it united their strength and identified their interest, while it lessened the expense of their Government.

Mrs. Matthias and Miss Annesley both died in a few months after their arrival in Africa, and within two or three days of each other. These pious missionaries were intimately attached to each other in America. Together they consecrated themselves to the cause of Africa, and together were called from the field which they had barely been permitted to enter and survey.

Governor Matthias wrote from Bassa Cove, December 18, 1837 : "There is not a finer climate for the colored man in the world, nor a soil more fertile. It is now summer. The thermometer for a month past has ranged from 79 to 84, and the season will continue until May, during which period the thermometer will not rise above 86.

Although the "Watchman" has been pleased to ridicule our organization as a republic, nevertheless we are a State with all its machinery. The editor would be induced to change his views, were he to see our well dressed and disciplined troops, and their management of arms. I should venture nothing in comparing them with the militia any where at home.

"Our courts of justice, of sessions, and the supreme court, the clerks and sheriffs, with the prosecuting attorney, with great readiness, perform their respective duties.

"To see members of council gravely deliberating on matters of interest to the commonwealth and good government, together with *merchants transacting their business with as much skill and pro-*

priety almost as at Middletown, is truly astonishing, considering the short period since our organization. Our chief clerk, for example, one of the children taken by the enemy in Ashmun's war, and restored after a detention of some months, besides writing a beautiful hand, can, in a twinkling, cast up any account, and make his calculations, without pen or pencil, in the sale of articles, with as much accuracy as any of your merchants.

"I am preparing, if well, to go up the St. John's, to hold a palaver with six or eight head men and kings for the purchase of their country. A great change has taken place among them; they seem desirous of being allied to us, for the protection of themselves against each other's aggression.

"December 25. We have now as fine a court-house as there is in Liberia. Benson has finished quite an elegant house, and others are laboring not only to stay here but to live. The government house is nearly finished. We have laid out the yard into walks and grass plots; on the margin of the walks we have planted the cotton tree and papaw. I have just returned from partaking of an agricultural dinner, not given by us of the government, but by the farmers. We had mutton, fish, and fowl, and a superfluity of vegetables. The table was set under some palm trees in Atlantic street; there were, I should judge, about fifty persons present. You need be under no apprehensions but that farming will go on. We mean to plant the coffee tree throughout our farm.

"We have bought, as you have been apprized, of Yellow Will, a large tract of beautiful upland. There are four native towns on it. King Yellow Will is, therefore, considered as allied to us by the neighboring head men and kings, who appear to be jealous of the honor, and determined to share it. They have sent me word that they would sell their lands."

The native kings, in carrying on their wars in the vicinity of the settlements, always regard the territory of the colony as neutral ground, to which the vanquished flee without fear of pursuit. Even slave-traders have surrendered those who have been stolen from off the territory of the colony, on the demand of the colonial authorities—hence the desire of the natives to sell their country to the colonists. They give up the jurisdiction of the country sold, and the right to buy and sell slaves, or engage in any way in the slave-trade, or make war upon their neighbors. In return, the right to occupy their towns and farms, and have them enlarged at pleasure, the same as if they were colonists, is secured to them; they are no longer exposed to be sold as slaves, or to be punished for witchcraft, and other imaginary crimes. Thus, in Liberia, colonization, instead of destroying gives protection to the natives, increases their comforts, abolishes the barbarous rites of devil-worship, by which multitudes have been yearly sacrificed, and is found to be a sure and effectual means of civilizing those brought under its influence.

The ninth expedition to Maryland in Liberia sailed from Baltimore on the 28th of November, with 86 emigrants, in the Niobe. In the same vessel the Protestant Episcopal Church sent out three missionaries, the Rev. Mr. Payne and wife, and the Rev. Mr. Minor, to join Mr. Savage, who was at the head of their establishment at Cape Palmas. The emigrants by the Niobe were all from Maryland, and nearly all of them persons of good character, who had been accustomed to labor, and left America under the conviction that their happiness and prosperity in Africa were only to be secured by persevering industry, and not expecting exemption from the toils incident to early settlers in a new country.

It had been the wise policy of the Maryland Society's Board, to send out industrious men, and by keeping general native trade in the hands of the Society, to make agriculture the main, and, indeed, except in the case of mechanics, the sole occupation of the colonists. The system of barter, which had been the chief means of inducing and cherishing the spirit of trade, so detrimental to the Monrovia settlement, and which was necessarily resorted to in the Maryland colony, threatened to defeat the wishes of the Board in regard to native trade, by obliging each colonist to keep on hand an assortment of goods to exchange for the articles wanted from the natives for the use of his family. It was at first proposed to send small silver coin to the colony, but the Board became satisfied, by the information they received, that it would be impossible to keep a sufficient quantity of silver there to answer any useful purpose, as it would soon be brought off by trading vessels stopping at the Cape. They prepared and forwarded certificates for five, ten, twenty-five, fifty, and one hundred cents, receivable in payment for goods at the public store. To make these intelligible to the natives, there were represented on them objects to which they attached the value represented by the certificates—for instance, on the five cent certificate a head of tobacco—on the ten cent, a chicken—on the twenty-five cent, a duck—on the fifty cent, two ducks, and on the dollar certificate, a goat.

The Report of the Liberia Mission of the Methodist Episcopal church, represented this as a year of unparalleled prosperity. "The fervent and united prayers," said the Report, "with which we commenced 1837, have not been in vain. The thousands of pious hearts among the Christians of America, which have been supplicating a throne of Divine Grace for Africa, have not been pleading for nought."

Seasons of revival had been extensively experienced in the Colony, and more than twenty of the natives had been converted. Some of these were living in the families of the colonists, and had been trained to the knowledge of the Christian's God, while others were "right out of the bush."

At Millsburg, the Methodist church had increased, this year, from eleven to sixty-three. The White Plain manual labor school, near this settlement, had shared in the blessings of converting grace.

One of the native boys, at this school, received a visit from his father, and on being inquired for at a certain hour of the day to go to work with the other boys, was missing. The missionary found him in one of the upper rooms of the school house, pleading with his father to "look for the American's God," and get his soul converted to Christ.

The number of church members within the bounds of this mission, embracing all the settlements except Marshall, was 578.—The number of children in the schools, under its care, 221 attending day schools, and 203 the Sabbath schools.

One of the colored teachers at Monrovia, (Mrs. Moore, formerly Eunice Sharp,) wrote to a lady in New York, "I have a goodly number of pupils, from twenty years old to three, but not advanced in learning as they are in years. I have some very interesting little girls, I have watched them from the alphabet to more interesting things, I have seen them trying to point out the different countries on the map, I have heard them tell me the nature of a noun, conjugate a verb, and tell how many times one number is contained in another, but all this was not half so entertaining to me, as when I saw them crowding to the altar of God. Give God the glory, O, my soul! that mine eyes have seen the salvation of God upon my own people. I have heard the wild natives of Africa testify that God hath power on earth to forgive sin. Rejoice then, ye daughters of benevolence! The Judge of all the earth is answering your prayers in behalf of poor benighted Africa. Yes, though they have laid long upon the altar, he has smelled a sweet savor, and it appears to me that the day is beginning to dawn, and the day star is rising on this dark division of the earth. The way is opening for the poor native, who is now worshipping devils, to become acquainted with the worship of the true and living God."

The Rev. S. Chase, who came to Liberia in 1836, with a heart most zealously devoted to the cause of missions, and who promised to be extensively useful in spreading the gospel among the natives, was obliged, in consequence of protracted ill health, to return to the United States in the summer of this year.

1838.

*From the Liberia Herald, for February.*

"Arrived on the 12th ult., ship Emperor, with 96 emigrants from Virginia, of which 60 were emancipated by John Smith, Sr., Esq., of Sussex county. These people have all been bred to farming, and we hope they will prove an important accession to the agricultural interests of the colony. The physicians of the colony being united and unequivocal in their verdict in favor of the superior healthfulness of the inland settlements over that of Monrovia, these emigrants have all been plac'd at Caldwell and Millsburg, an event which will put this opinion to the test. Our opinion is, that either place is healthful. There is no earthly occa-

sion that colored people should die in establishing themselves in Africa. Let them only avoid the actual and obvious causes of disease, (which is neither more difficult nor more necessary to be done here than in all other countries,) and they may live their three score years and ten, and if they should have on their arrival, good cheer and plenty, they may even attain their four score years. There came passengers in this ship, Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Clark, to join the Baptist mission at Edina, Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Barton and mother, of the mission of the M. E. church, and Dr. Skinner and daughter. This latter gentleman has the medical charge of the colony."

It was a great disappointment to the Governor not to receive a sugar mill, which he expected by this vessel, as he had then six acres of promising thrifty cane, and was anxious to prove the practicability of cultivating and manufacturing the article, and thereby give an impulse to the business, but the cane was lost for want of the means of grinding.

In the early part of this year, the Bassa Cove settlement received an accession of 72 emigrants, who came in the barque Marine, from Wilmington, N. C.

One of these emigrants was Mr. Lewis Sheriden, a distinguished colored man from North Carolina. On visiting Gov. Mathias, and examining the laws for the government of the colony, he expressed much dissatisfaction, and refused to take the oath required of those who became citizens, alledging that he had left the United States on account of oppression, and that he should not subject himself to arbitrary government in Africa, and such he deemed that of the colony. However, after spending a few weeks in examining the country, and failing in an effort to induce the colonists to petition the Board for an amendment of the constitution, he resolved on locating at Bexley, six miles from Bassa Cove. As he was a man of wealth, and had been extensively and successfully engaged in business in Carolina, the rules observed in the allotment of lands to emigrants were dispensed with in his case.— He took a long lease of six hundred acres, and soon had in his employ a hundred men. Many of them were natives, who proved to be excellent laborers.

The inland and elevated situation of Bexley, and its rich soil, well adapted to the growth of sugar cane and the coffee tree, with such a man as Sheriden to excite to industry those around him, by his own example, may soon make it one of the most important agricultural settlements in Liberia.

Some of the Dey people, residing on the Little Bassa, had forcibly taken colonial property from those to whom its transportation to Edina, had been entrusted. On satisfaction being demanded for this outrage, the Deys readily agreed to pay for the property taken, also, to pay a debt due by them, to the colonial agent, and to secure the payment in four months, pledged a portion of their lands, embracing the mouth of the Little Bassa. The time of payment having expired, a commissioner was appointed to remind the Dey



of their promise, but only a renewal of it was obtained. The colonization agent, acting in accordance with the spirit of his instructions to treat the natives with all consistent lenity, pursued persuasive measures to induce this tribe to comply with their engagements, for eighteen months without success, when he sent two commissioners, accompanied by seventy-five armed men, with instructions to bring the business to a close by an amicable arrangement, if possible, but if no satisfaction could be obtained, they were to take possession of the land pledged. The Deys, conscious of their own duplicity, and fearful of being chastised for the robbery they had committed, retired from the coast ; and, after spending eight days in fruitless efforts to bring them to a palaver, the colonists took possession of the territory pledged. This course was deemed necessary, for had the Deys escaped unpunished, their robberies would have become of frequent occurrence ; forbearance is always interpreted by the natives to be weakness.

A man by the name of Logan, in disregard of the remonstrances of his friends, settled on the territory of the natives, north of the St. Paul's, and opened a farm. In a fracas with some Mandingoes in which he was concerned, one of them was killed. Logan was accused of the deed, arrested, and formally tried in the colony, and acquitted of the murder. Having returned to his farm, the party to which the murdered man belonged, went, a few days after, to Logan's house, under pretext of trading ; not suspecting their designs he admitted them. As soon as they had entered, they seized and confined him, and after robbing the house of its contents, set it on fire, which, with the owner was consumed. Of three other persons in the house, an American, a Gourah, and a Bassa, the latter escaped, and the other two were taken captive. The Governor demanded of the Deys the surrender of the murderers, and satisfaction for the property destroyed. This demand was made in conformity with a treaty existing between the parties. The Deys pleaded ignorance of the murder and robbery, stating their weakness to be such, that they were forced to submit to see their own property taken and carried away at pleasure by the Mandingoes and Gourahs ; and although they admitted their obligations to protect Americans, and their property, they alleged a want of ability to do so, and agreed to a proposal to relinquish a part of their territory, which would enable the colony to extend their jurisdiction and settlements in a direction that would give protection to the Dey people. Twenty-five square miles on the St. Paul's was transferred to the colony. The Board of Managers doubted the justice of these proceedings, and directed a full report to be made of all the circumstances, in the case, before assenting to the possession.

Some of the evils anticipated by many of the friends of the American Colonization Society in the establishment of separate settlements in Liberia, independent of each other, and under distinct governments, began to be realized. In reference to this sub-

ject, the Lieutenant Governor in a communication, dated May 8th, 1838, wrote as follows: "I regret to say, our neighbors of Bassa Cove and Edina seem to entertain the most hostile feelings towards the old colony, and every thing connected with it. They have manifested such a disposition as will, if continued, lead to serious difficulties between the settlements. The policy which the colonizationists are now pursuing is assuredly a bad one, and will inevitably defeat the object they aim to accomplish. Nothing can be conceived more destructive to the general good than separate and conflicting interests among the different colonies. And this consequence will certainly follow the establishment of separate and distinct sovereignties contiguous to each other. If societies must file off, and have separate establishments, their very existence depends upon their union, by some general and well-settled relations. They might be so far separate as to have peculiar local and internal regulations, but they should be controlled by general laws, and general supervision, and be so connected as to move on to one object in harmonious operation. The editor of the Liberia Herald expressed his views on the same subject in the following article from the July number for 1836:

"The formation of colonies along the coast, is beyond doubt, the surest way of breaking up the slave trade, as far as their influence may extend. But while we view with much satisfaction, the success of the colonization scheme, and the formation of new settlements, we would observe, that we deem it highly necessary that the several, and all the colonies now in existence, and those that may hereafter be formed, should be under the guidance of general laws; such a connexion would promote union, without which they could never prosper. Each settlement, independently should have its own laws and regulations for its internal government, like the several States of the Union in America. And like them should be bound and cemented together by one general government, and by one common interest. Such a union, of so much vital importance to the future prosperity and peace of the whole, would elevate the character of the Colonies in a degree to which they could not otherwise attain. By it, moreover, their strength would be increased, as well as their permanency, according to a common but true saying, "*united we stand.*" Instead of a few isolated settlements, often at variance with each other from selfish motives and conflicting interests, they would then present to the view of the beholder a number of small settlements, or States if you please, forming a rising Republic in Africa of one people and of one language, after the model of the great Union of America."

On the 9th of July a company of emigrants arrived at the Mississippi Colony,\* by the brig Mail, from New Orleans.

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\*It errors are found in the brief notices given of the Sinoe and Bassa Cove settlements, it is because the desired information in relation to them could not be obtained.

These emigrants were well provided with clothes, tools, and farming utensils; working animals were purchased for them at the Cape de Verd Islands, and with great cheerfulness they commenced improving their farms, which were already laid out. An agent had been employed to prepare houses, clear land and plant vegetables, so that the emigrants, on their arrival, found good quarters, and an abundance of cassada, rice, and potatoes..

Their town, Greenville, is on the Sinoe river, five miles from the mouth, and about two miles in a direct line from the sea. This settlement is deemed as healthy as any part of the State of Mississippi, and the land as rich.

The territory purchased by the Mississippi Society is narrow on the ocean, widening as it runs back, and contains over one hundred square miles.

Of the 37 emigrants by the brig Mail, 26 had been set free by Mr. Anketell, who had taken much pains to prepare them for freedom and usefulness.

An event occurred in the autumn of this year which cast a gloom over the infant but prosperous settlement of Greenville, and, in some measure, disturbed the peaceful relations existing between the colonists and natives.

About the 10th of September, the Governor left Greenville for Monrovia on business as well as for his health. On his way, he attempted to visit Bassa Cove. Landing about two miles below the settlement, he was robbed and murdered by the natives. The Governor seems to have placed too much confidence in a native whom he had with him, and to whom he had exposed the fact of his having a large sum of money about him. The faithlessness of this fellow in disclosing the circumstance of the money, no doubt occasioned the murder.

This outrage led to a war between the natives and the settlers of Bassa Cove, who had one or two of their people killed, several wounded, and some of their horses destroyed.

Previous to the news of this out-break, the most cheering intelligence had been received from the Bassa Cove settlement, of their health, their temporal and spiritual prosperity. Accounts from all the colonies were generally encouraging, though the Monrovia settlements were in want of adequate funds to carry forward their contemplated improvements, having for some time received but little pecuniary aid from the Society.

An official communication from Lieutenant Governor Williams, dated July 31, contained the following: "The interest manifested on the subject of agriculture is daily increasing, and the prospect brightening. All here feel the necessity of raising such articles of food as are required for our own wants, and in such quantities as to supply those wants. The greatest and only difficulty is to believe that, with the most abundant supply of African produce, the articles to which we were accustomed in America are not indispensable to our existence.

"The country is comparatively quiet; how long it will remain so cannot be conjectured. The elements of war and discord are always existent in African society.

"Your suggestions in regard to the propriety of altering and amending the constitution, I have thought best to submit to the consideration of the people at large. For this purpose I called a meeting in each settlement, in order to ascertain the public sentiment. The suggestion was immediately acted upon, and a committee of ten persons was appointed, who now have the subject under consideration. These persons are authorized to suggest such alterations and amendments, to any extent, as they may think adapted to our present state, and submit them to the Board.

"We are again destitute of stationery, and are very much in want of animals for draught work on farms."

It is much to be regretted that suitable working animals, with wagons, carts, ploughs, and drags, had not been early introduced into the colony. With these, agriculture would have advanced rapidly, and buildings would have been erected with comparative ease. To substitute the hoe for the plough, in agriculture, and manual labor for teams, in conveying building timber from the forest, and stone from the quarry, was tedious, expensive, and discouraging. That so much has been accomplished under such privations and disadvantages, excites our wonder.

Had the colonists been enabled, in 1825, to use the plough and drag in cultivation, they could, for the last ten years, have furnished provisions for all the emigrants as they arrived.

Dr. Taylor wrote from Millsburg in August: "With regard to the last emigration, it must be said they have done wonderfully well. They are all at work with very few exceptions. I hope and pray that the Society may soon raise her head; that her coffers may be filled to overflowing. I think that if the bitter opponents of the Colonization scheme, would only come to Millsburg and look at the prospect, and see that all that is wanting to make this a splendid place, and the people independent, is means, they could but say, I will give my support to this enterprise; though I advocate the elevation of the man of color in America, I am now convinced that this is the place where he can enjoy real freedom."

The Rev. B. R. Wilson, who was engaged in the manual labor school at Millsburg, and, at the same time, was pastor of a church in that place, consisting at first of but nine members, wrote as follows: "We have now a well organized church of about seventy members, and a fine school of native boys and girls, some of whom begin to read, and several profess to have religion, and have joined the church. I am more and more pleased with Africa."

A colonist wrote from Edina, to his former master, "You wish to know my situation, and how I like this part of the world. I am doing well, I have two good houses and three lots, also, forty acres of land, ten of which are in culture—coffee, cotton, cassada, plan-

tains, bannana, beans, rice, yams, papaws, and melons—these grow all the year here. One acre of land is worth two in the United States. In a word, sir, no man can starve that will work one third of his time. It is a beautiful country indeed. I would not return to the States again, to live, on any consideration whatever, even if slavery was removed. But, sir, we are freemen here, and enjoy the rights of men. What shall I say about want? Why, sometimes we want sugar and tea, also, butter and meat. But time will remove all this. I have plenty of milk and make butter, but there are a great many who have not cows and goats in abundance.

You would do well to send out some brandy to preserve such things as snakes, scorpions and other things, as spirits are prohibited here, and hardly used among us, and cannot be bought for money.

I have the satisfaction to inform you that this is a flourishing settlement indeed. The people thrive. All my children are well, and my wife has good health. The children are good English scholars, and James is studying medicine with Dr. Johnson."

A lyceum was formed in Monrovia for the diffusion of knowledge throughout the colony. A committee was appointed to collect specimens of natural and artificial curiosities. Two of each kind were to be forwarded to some scientific body in America or elsewhere, one retained, the other described, labelled and returned, at the expense of the lyceum. The president and corresponding secretary were to communicate with similar associations in the United States and elsewhere, and invite their aid and co-operation in advice, book, specimens, and whatever else may contribute to the object of their association.

It was stated in the Liberia Herald of the next month, that since the formation of the lyceum, some few collections of shells, rocks, minerals and plants had been made, that arrangements were on foot for a commodious room, in which the specimens could be kept and displayed to advantage. The question for the next debate was, "Whether it was good policy to admit indiscriminately, persons of all nations and color to become citizens of Liberia?"

Since the foundation of the Maryland colony, it has been the object of the Board, to send regularly, a spring and fall expedition. The spring expedition brought out 36 emigrants by the Columbia, of Baltimore, and the fall expedition, 53 emigrants by the Oberon, with Dr. McDowell and Dr. S. F. McGill. Dr. McDowell had practised medicine several years in Liberia. Dr. McGill, who is a colored man, had resided there from his childhood, with the exception of the last three years, spent in acquiring a medical education at Dartmouth college, New Hampshire, where he received his diploma. He brought with him an excellent medical library, and it was expected that by practising with Dr. McDowell, he would become qualified to succeed that gentleman as colonial physician, at the expiration of the year for which the Board had engaged his services.

Dr. McGill was instructed to select one or more young men of suitable capacity, and commence instructing them in medicine, with a view of having them sent to the United States to attend the necessary lectures. In this way, it was hoped that permanent medical skill could be secured in the colony.

It was evident that nothing was wanting but care during the first few months of their residence, to make this as healthy to the colored people as any place from which they emigrate.

The paper currency was found to answer fully the purpose intended, and it was with none more popular than with the natives themselves. While the system of barter was in vogue, a native scarcely ever sold an article to a colonist, and received merchandise in exchange, without being obliged to divide a portion of it among such friends as happened to be present when the bargain was struck, but when he was paid a piece of paper, this partnership of profits could not take place. This was perfectly understood by the natives, and hence the popularity with them of the paper currency.

Governor Russwurm wrote to the Board: "The direct tendency of the currency is to draw all business to the Society's store, and to induce the colonists to put by a part, instead of taking up, as formerly, every cent of their earnings. I think our next step will be a Savings bank, or a Benefit society, for mutual relief in cases of sickness."

Of the new code of laws which had been prepared with great care, the Governor wrote: "We are all much pleased with the new code of laws. The powers of the judges are well defined, and will save, among an ignorant community, much contention. I have not heard even a murmur against the code, though it strikes at the root of many preconceived opinions."

He added: "The people are civil and orderly. No properly established law of the colony has ever met with open opposition; no violence has ever been threatened to the lawful authorities. No instance of riot or general uncontrollable excitement has occurred, and no instance of open quarrelling or fistuffs, has come to my knowledge, directly or indirectly, since the first establishment of the colony."

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In tracing the progress of the Liberia colonies, the history of each successive year, has increased our conviction of the benefits and practicability of colonization. That a people just freed from slavery, unused to provide for their most common wants, unprepared by education and experience for self-government, unskilled in projecting or executing any enterprise which required patient perseverance, suffering and privation, placed on a distant shore, among a barbarous and hostile people, who sought their destruction, subjected to an acclimating sickness as debilitating as the fe-

vers of our western rivers are to the eastern emigrant—that they should have continued through all these embarrassments, steadily to improve their moral and physical condition, and not only supported the government, but ably conducted its administration, filling all the various offices, legislative, executive, judicial, ministerial and military, supporting schools, erecting churches—indeed, overcoming every difficulty, and becoming an elevated, moral, temperate and religious people, firmly established, and furnishing an inviting home to the colored man—not only excites our admiration, but constrains us to believe that the hand of the Lord is in this work, and that Africa is to be redeemed by COLONIZATION.

NOTE.—The history thus abruptly closed, would have been brought down to a later date, had intelligence, long expected from Liberia, been received.

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## LIBERIA.

### *Territory, Soil, Productions, and Settlements.*

LIBERIA embraces that portion of the western coast of AFRICA which reaches from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, a distance of three hundred miles, and extends inland from 20 to 50 miles. Not that the Colonization Societies have any claim by purchase to the whole of that territory, or exercise any immediate jurisdiction over all its numerous tribes; but merely claim, by treaty with the natives, that no other nation shall purchase territory within their limits without the consent of the Society.

Liberia furnishes a variety of soil. On the coast it is generally sandy and light. Receding from the coast, the country is rolling, sometimes hilly. The soil is rich, producing good crops, even under the imperfect culture of the natives. The bottom lands are similar to those on the southern rivers of the United States. The country between the ocean and the first mountain range is well watered, having many fine running brooks in the dryest season. Both the bottoms and uplands are generally covered with a heavy growth of timber, such as teak for ship building, mahogany, sulphur, and other woods for furniture, and various valuable dye-woods, particularly the camwood, which composes the entire growth of forests of many miles in extent, lying from 30 to 50 miles from the coast.

The great staple of agriculture is rice. It is generally sown on the uplands at the commencement of the rainy season, and great crops are obtained under slight cultivation. Probably in no country can rice be raised cheaper than in Africa, and as soon as agriculture is improved, it must become a great article of export.

Sugar cane and cotton are indigenous to the country, and nothing but cultivation is required to grow them in the greatest perfection.

The *Monrovia settlements* comprise the towns of Monrovia, New Georgia, Caldwell, Millsburg, and Marshall. Farther south 50 miles is the *Bassa Cove* settlements on the St. John's river, including Bassa Cove, Edina, and Bexley. About 100 miles still farther south, near the mouth of the river Sinoe, is the recent settlement of *Greenville*. At Cape Palmas, 280 miles from Monrovia, is the flourishing settlement of Maryland in Liberia.

*Cape Montserado*, the site of Monrovia, has always been an important point on the west coast of Africa, being easily recognised, and affording supplies of wood, water, and provisions to shipping. It is a bold rocky headland, in latitude 6 degrees, 29 minutes north, and in longitude 10 degrees 50 minutes west, covered before its occupancy by a dense forest growth, almost impenetrable from vines and brushwood. Its most elevated point nearly overhangs the sea, and is about 150 feet above its level. *Monrovia* occupies a plane about 80 feet lower, on the southwest side of the Montserado river. The population of Monrovia, including native residents, is stated at 1500. A considerable number of its early inhabitants have gone as pioneers to the other settlements, which have derived some of their best settlers from the acclimated citizens of the parent colony.

Most of the houses are frame, many with stone basements. There are ten or twelve two-story stone dwelling houses; several large warehouses and wharves, besides three large churches, two school-houses, a court-house and jail, are also built of stone, either granite or red sand stone, both of which are abundant and easily quarried. One of the school-houses was built at the expense of the Ladies' Liberia Education Society of Richmond, the other by the Methodist mission.

The town covers three square miles; the streets are laid off at right angles and are wide; the principal one, Broadway, being a hundred feet. The blocks consist of four lots of a quarter of an acre each. Most of the gardens in Monrovia are abundantly supplied with fruit trees which, in many instances, are enclosed by a white fence, while through their deep green foliage are seen the white painted houses of the citizens.

*New Georgia*, the settlement of recaptured Africans, is four miles from Monrovia. The streets are kept smooth and clean; the lots are fenced in with wild plum, and croton oil bush. The people seem contented and happy, attend church regularly, and are anxious to have their children educated. Magistrates and constables are annually appointed from among themselves, the dignity of which offices they prize much, and execute their duties faithfully, as far as they are able. During elections of officers, they may be seen attending the polls with all the bustle and activity of warm politicians. There are two churches in this settlement, and two schools; one under the care of the Methodist Episcopal mission, the other supported by the Ladies' Society, in Philadelphia.

*Caldwell* is situated on the south bank of the St. Paul's river, (which is here about a mile in width,) and extends 4 miles along its banks and on the Stockton creek. The lots are laid off similarly to those of Monrovia. The farms are placed around the outskirts of the town. It has two churches, and two schools; the latter under the same patronage as those in New Georgia.

Two large receptacles for emigrants are here erected by the Society. The inhabitants are chiefly engaged in farming; and their comfort and independence are in proportion to their agricultural industry. Many are poor, raising only vegetables enough for their support; others are surrounded with abundance.

*Millsburg*, an agricultural settlement twelve miles higher up the St. Paul's, is a delightful residence. Besides the more common and necessary vegetables, of which they raise an abundance, there is, on several plantations, a large number of coffee trees, and the sugar cane growing thrifily. This place is esteemed so healthily that newly arrived emigrants, instead of being placed in receptacles for acclimation, are immediately settled on their farms, which run back from the river in strips of ten acres by one. Here is a manual labor school, besides other schools, and two churches.

*Marshall*, situated near the mouth of the Junk river, is a new settlement composed of recaptured Africans and some other emigrants. Their employment is farming, making lime from oyster shells, and trading with the natives. They have already a church built, and a school established.

*Edina* is on the north side of the St. John's river, near its entrance into the sea. It has two churches, two schools for colonists supported by the Ladies' Society of Philadelphia, and a school for native boys chiefly, under the care of the Baptist mission, whose principal station is at Edina. The Baptists have here erected a house of worship under a large tree, beneath which human sacrifices were once offered to the devil. The state of society is good, and the inhabitants are all anxious to have their children educated.

*Bassa Cove* is on the opposite side of the river from Edina, about a mile distant. The people apply themselves industriously to agriculture, are temperate and prosperous. They have a Baptist, a Methodist, and a Presbyterian church. A Sunday school is connected with each, embracing, besides the children of the colonists, several natives. A day school is supported by the Ladies' Society of Philadelphia. A lyceum was established here by Mr. Buchanan for the mutual improvement of the young men of the village. This settlement has a court-house and jail.

*Cape Palmas* is one of the most prominent headlands on the western coast of Africa. The settlement of *Maryland in Liberia*, which is established here, extends about four miles inland. The principal village is *Harper*.

The Presbyterian mission, under Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, has been established some years, and great good has resulted from their persevering and devoted labors. Mr. Wilson has two schools under his care, with three colored assistants, one at *Brock Town* and one at *Cavally*, besides that at his own residence. Two churches are built, and exercises are performed regularly at *Mount Vaughan*, the



residence of the Protestant Episcopal Missionary. There are three other schools in the town for the colonists; one of the school houses has been built, at the expense of the Ladies' Liberian Education Society of Baltimore, for a very competent colored preacher and his wife.

A very fine road has been made for nine miles inland, and it is intended to be carried to Deh-neh, the Episcopal mission station in the interior, about 60 miles. A law was passed by Mr. Russwurm, that eighteen months after the passing of the act, no officer should hold a commission who could not read and write. The consequence of which is that those now in office not possessed of the necessary qualifications, are studying hard to acquire them.

It is estimated that the various settlements contain a population of more than 5,000. There are 16 churches in Liberia. Of these, eight are Baptist, six Methodist, three Presbyterian, and one Episcopalian. As there are 40 clergymen in the colonies, all the churches are not only regularly supplied with preaching, but religious meetings are held weekly in many of the native villages.

The general tone of society is religious; the state of morals good. Sabbath breaking, drunkenness, profanity, and quarrelling are very rare in Liberia. There are ten weekly day-schools in all the settlements, supported generally by education and missionary societies in the United States. The teachers, in most cases, are colored persons. A laudable desire for knowledge pervades the community. They desire to have an academic institution in the colony, but do not feel themselves able to establish one without aid.

There are at present about 30 white persons connected with the various missionary and education societies, or attached to the colonies as physicians.

#### TRADE AND COMMERCE.

LIBERIA is well situated for carrying on a large trade with the interior of Africa. The colonists, with very few exceptions, were, on their arrival, destitute of property, having but a scanty supply of the commonest articles for household use and agricultural purposes. Many of them, although thus destitute of capital, engaged in trade with a very limited credit, and have continued their barter with the natives until they have become independent. For several years they have been prosecuting a profitable coasting trade, in which is employed about twenty vessels, of from five to forty tons burthen, built and fitted out by themselves. This trade extends along the coast for about seven hundred miles. Their goods are purchased from British and American vessels visiting Monrovia, but principally from the former, consisting of coarse cottons, broadcloths, East India goods, beads, knives, hatchets, crockery ware, iron pots, and tobacco. The articles received in exchange from the natives, are camwood, ivory, palm oil, gold dust, and various valuable gums. These articles are again exchanged for new supplies of goods. The Liberian trader, forced to pay high prices for goods, and take low prices for his produce, realizes but a small portion of the profit. This evil he must submit to, until communications with the United States become more frequent, so as to enable him to forward his produce and receive his goods in return. The highest price he receives from the British for his camwood is fifty dollars per ton, paid in goods at from 100 to 150 per cent. advance on first cost, while he could realize in the United States for his camwood, seventy dollars per ton, clear of commission.

The slavers who swarm on the coast of Africa, and frequently commit acts of piracy, have rendered the trade too hazardous to be prosecuted by the Americans, whose flag, for some years, has been left unprotected on that coast. A few American merchants, tempted by the extraordinary profits of a voyage, if successful, are engaged in that trade, which is almost wholly monopolized by the British, and which they are fast extending into the centre of Africa, from Sierra Leone, Cape Coast, and the Gambia, and, also, by the recently discovered route of the Niger. From those points, large quantities of British goods are annually carried far into the interior, by colonial and native traders, and the most portable and valuable produce received in return.

The British receive from Africa the teakwood for ship building, and large quantities of other valuable woods for furniture. This trade is protected by numerous cruisers, and is annually increasing. Some idea of its importance may be formed from the fact, that there was imported into Liverpool alone, in 1834, 12,000 tons of palm oil; the same year a single house imported 300 tons of camwood; and another house imported in three years gums to the amount of \$300,000.

This trade, which gives employ to so large an amount of British shipping, and furnishes a market for so large a quantity of her manufactures, can, to a great extent, be secured, through the colony of Liberia, to the United States. All that is required is protection to our flag on the African coast, and capital in the hands of the Liberian merchants, many of whom have evinced both the skill and integrity to conduct trade on the most extended scale.

With constitutions adapted to that climate, and a similarity of color with the natives, the Liberian can penetrate the interior with safety, and prosecute his trade in the bays and rivers of the coast, without suffering from the diseases which are so fatal to the white man. Freed from the risks of life to which the white man is exposed, he will be enabled greatly to reduce the price of goods to the natives, and thereby draw to Liberia a large part of the trade which now goes into the hands of the British.

With stores well supplied with goods appropriate to the trade, located at the several important settlements in Liberia, the trade would increase rapidly with the interior, and soon, in the opinion of those well acquainted with the country, would amount to a million of dollars annually. It is not, however, to a coasting or barter trade alone, profitable as it is, and favorably situated as she is to improve it, that Liberia looks for the means to sustain her commerce, it is her agriculture and her forests. The whole country will produce rice, which must soon make a large item in her export trade.

The coffee tree abounds in the forest, and can be obtained and planted out as cheaply as any of the shrubs in America. It will produce in five years. Samples which have been sent to New York, are pronounced, by judges, to be equal to the finest Mocha. The palm tree, which abounds in Western Africa, and in many places, is found in dense forests, to the exclusion of other timber, furnishes a nut from which oil may be extracted in any desired quantity. It is now manufactured by the rudest process by the natives, and sold for about twenty-five cents a gallon.

When suitable machinery shall be introduced for its manufacture, it can be produced at half that price.

What an inviting field is here opened to the enterprising colored man of the United States. Could it be safely occupied by the hardy sons of New England, who engage in the lumbering, fishing, and whaling business, how soon would they leave those laborious employments and make the forests of Africa yield more oil than is obtained from all the whales in the Pacific. But Providence has decreed the riches of Africa to the colored man.

The camwood districts in Liberia lie from 35 to 50 miles from the coast, and are contiguous to navigable rivers. An intelligent gentleman, who explored one of these districts lying near the St. John's, says, that the improvement of the navigation and the opening of a road to the camwood forest can be done at a small expense, and by the use of suitable boats and teams, the wood can be transported and delivered at the Bassa harbor for \$15 per ton, in quantities sufficient to supply all the demands of commerce. That now obtained is transported from the forest on the backs of slaves.

From the favorable geographical location of Liberia, her fertile soil, the industry and enterprise of her citizens, the elevating influence of her free and christian institutions, is she not destined to develop the agricultural and commercial resources of Africa, while she is the means of regenerating her benighted millions.

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#### AMENDED CONSTITUTION AND PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The American Colonization Society, under whose direction and management the colonies in Liberia were founded, was organized in December, 1816. The scheme of Colonization was popular, and as the Society extended its operations, a large portion of the citizens of the United States gave it their confidence and support. State, county and town societies, auxiliary to the parent society, were formed in nearly every State in the Union. The officers of the auxiliary societies, by the constitution, were members of the parent Institution, and each individual contributing one dollar to the funds of the society, was entitled to a vote in the election of officers. The constitution underwent various amendments, but the Managers were still chosen at the annual meetings of the society, and were charged with the duty of appointing the officers of the society, and the agents and officers for the colonies, as well as with the entire management of all matters relating

to the affairs of the society in the United States. Many of them were the most distinguished men of our country, and although their labors were arduous, their services were rendered gratuitously. Many unexpected difficulties were encountered. Establishing a colony on so distant and unfrequented a shore, in the midst of a barbarous people, without an armed force to protect it, was a bold experiment.— Its success has been triumphant. The blessings which it has already conferred, and the far more extended blessings which it promises, fully proves the wisdom of those who planned, and the perseverance of those who have conducted the Colonization enterprise.

Although it is not claimed that the affairs of the society have, at all times, been conducted in the best possible manner, it is less remarkable that errors should have been committed, both in plan and execution, than that such uniform success should have attended their operations, which not only required political wisdom, but a degree of commercial and financial skill, which the Board could not always command.

The Maryland State Colonization Society, for causes to which we will not now refer, withdrew her support from the American Colonization Society, and resolved to establish a colony in Liberia, to which should be sent such free people of color, of that State, as wished to emigrate. Soon after, the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, were induced to establish a separate colony.

The New York City Colonization Society united with the latter, under the active agency of Dr. Proudfit, the funds of the State were brought to their aid.— Subsequently, the Mississippi State Colonization Society established a colony independent of the American Colonization Society.

Thus, in 1838, there were four distinct colonies in Liberia, independent of, and unconnected with each other.

The friends of Colonization generally, and particularly those responsible for the management of the several societies, felt the importance of uniting, by such political and commercial relations, as would secure peace and harmony between the several colonies in Africa, and promote the general prosperity of the whole. Much diversity of opinion prevailed as to the best means of accomplishing this object.

The Maryland Colonization Society, proposed that the same flag and currency should be adopted by all the colonies, fugitives from justice surrendered, reciprocal revenue and commercial relations adopted, &c. &c. But wished to retain the control of all matters relating to their own colony, until their people should be educated, and in all respects better qualified to assume and sustain the responsibilities of a free people.

The Managers of the other societies wished to carry the union of colonial interest much farther, and some who had been the warmest advocates of separate state action and independent colonies, now believed the whole system wrong, as it tended to distract and disunite the friends of the cause, and greatly increased the expense of carrying on Colonization operations in this country. Each State society, which had a colony in Africa to provide for, required as many and as competent officers to direct its business, as was required to conduct the Colonization operations for the whole United States, and the expense of administering the government of each separate colony, would be as great as that of the whole united colonies.

As a free republic was contemplated in Liberia by all the friends of Colonization, it was due to the people who were to comprise it, to intrust as much power in their hands at once, as they could use profitably and safely, and thus enable them to acquire experience in all the various branches of self-government, and also to prevent the formation of sectional jealousies, prejudices and preferences, which it would be difficult to eradicate. To bring the separate settlements together by their delegates, to legislate for Liberia as a State, would make them acquainted with each others wants and resources, and their capability of improvement. They would have one system of laws, civil, commercial and military—one uniform system governing their intercourse with the natives—one executive head, and could go on improving, until the people became sufficiently numerous, and were in all other respects in a condition to dispense with the guardianship of their American patrons.

Those who preferred united action in Liberia, finding their views sustained by many of the most talented and experienced colonists, and others who had been agents and governors of the colonies, proposed a convention of delegates from the American Colonization Society, the Maryland Colonization Society, and the New York and Pennsylvania Colonization Society, to meet at Philadelphia, in September, 1838.

The proposition was favorably received, and a convention was held at the time and place proposed. A general plan of union was agreed upon, (Maryland declining to be a party,) and submitted to the several societies for their consideration. At the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, held at Washington in December, in which all the societies interested were fully represented, this plan was discussed, and with little alteration, adopted.

It is believed that the late changes in the organization of the society, will prove highly advantageous. All conflicting interests between the several societies will be harmonized, and the wisdom and the power of the State societies embodied in the American Colonization Society. Thus sustained, its operations must proceed with increased energy.

The Directors being composed of delegates from the State Societies, will feel a more direct responsibility, than if appointed as heretofore. And being distributed in the several States, will be able to represent the wishes and views of the friends of Colonization generally, and be the medium of communication between the society and its patrons.

It is hoped that every State in the Union will be represented by their delegates in the Board.

This society furnishes neutral ground, on which the North and the South may meet and unite their labors to produce a voluntary separation of the free colored people from among the white race, where they are deprived of those social and civil privileges essential to the elevation of the human mind, and establish them in the land of their fathers, "where all circumstances favor their elevation, and all motives stir them to duty." To enlighten Africa, to change her barbarous and enslaved to an educated and christian population, to establish in that dark quarter of the globe a free republic, an asylum to which the despoiled children of Africa may return, this is a field of benevolence in which the christian and philanthropist of every section of our country may unite, and make the society be emphatically what its name imports, THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The society is now in operation under the amended constitution. A constitution for the united colonies, under the name and style of the COMMONWEALTH OF LIBERIA, was prepared by the Directors, who appointed Thomas Buchanan, Esq. of Philadelphia, Governor. He had resided a year in Liberia, as Governor of Bassa Cove, where he was beloved by the colonists, and respected by the native kings. Entire devotedness to the cause of Colonization, united to courtesy, piety, firmness, and a correct and comprehensive judgment, qualifies him for the station to which he is chosen. It is believed a more competent man could not be found to preside over the interests of Liberia, and carry into operation the provisions of the new constitution. Mr. Buchanan sailed in February, from Norfolk, in the ship Saluda. His arrival in Monrovia, which is to be the seat of government, must give a new impulse to the colonies, as through the liberal policy of the government, he was furnished with a much needed supply of arms, ammunition, cannon, naval boats, &c., and was provided by the society with a large quantity of trade goods, agricultural implements, a sugar mill, &c., also, means of obtaining, at the Cape de Verd islands, a supply of working animals, the want of which has so greatly retarded agricultural operations in the colony.

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## CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF LIBERIA.

*Adopted by the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, January 5, 1839.*

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY hereby grants to the colonies or settlements in Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, under its care, the following Constitution:

ARTICLE 1. The colonies or settlements of Monrovia, New Georgia, Caldwell, Millsburg, Marshall, Bexley, Bassa Cove, and Edina, and such other Colonies hereafter established by this Society, or by Colonization Societies adopting the Constitution of the American Colonization Society, on the Western coast of Africa, are hereby united into one Government, under the name and style of the Commonwealth of Liberia.

*Legislative Power.*

**ART. 2.** All Legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Governor and Council of Liberia; but all laws by them enacted shall be subject to the revocation of the American Colonization Society.

**ART. 3.** The Council shall consist of representatives to be elected by the people of the several colonies or settlements and shall be apportioned among them according to a just ratio of representation. Until otherwise provided, Monrovia New Georgia, Caldwell, and Millsburg, shall be entitled to six representatives; and Marshall, Bexley, Bassa Cove, and Edina, to four representatives; to be appointed among them by the Governor.

**ART. 4.** The representatives shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arresting during their attendance at the session of the Council, and in going to or returning from the same; and for any speech or debate therein, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

**ART. 5.** Until otherwise provided by law, the Governor shall appoint and publish the times, places, and manner, of holding elections, and making returns thereof, and the same for the meeting of the Council.

**ART. 6.** The Governor shall preside at the deliberations of the Council, and shall have a veto on all their acts.

**ART. 7.** A Colonial Secretary shall be appointed by the Governor; and it shall be the duty of such Colonial Secretary to record in a book or books, all the official acts and proceedings of the Governor, of the Council, and of the Governor and Council; to secure and preserve the same carefully; and to transmit a copy of each of such acts or proceedings to the American Colonization Society, from time to time. Provided, however, that such acts and proceedings be so transmitted at least once a year.

**ART. 8.** A great seal shall be provided for the Commonwealth of Liberia, whereby the official and public acts of the Governor shall be authenticated; and the custody of the said seal shall be committed to the Colonial Secretary.

**ART. 9.** The Governor and Council shall have power to provide a uniform system of military tactics and discipline: to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the Commonwealth:

To declare war in self-defence:

To make rules concerning captures on land and water:

To make treaties with the several African tribes, and to prescribe rules for regulating the commerce between the Commonwealth of Liberia and such tribes; except that all treaties for the acquisition of lands shall be subject to the approval of the American Colonization Society:

To prescribe uniform laws of naturalization for all persons of color. All persons now citizens of any part of the Commonwealth of Liberia shall continue to be so, and all colored persons emigrating from the United States of America, or any District or Territory thereof, with the approbation, or under the sanction of the American Colonization Society; or of any Society auxiliary to the same, or of any State Colonization Society of the United States, which shall have adopted the Constitution of the American Colonization Society, shall be entitled to all the privileges of citizens of Liberia; except the same shall have been lost or forfeited by conviction of some crime.

*Executive Power.*

**ART. 10.** The Executive power shall be vested in a Governor of Liberia, to be appointed by, and to hold his office during the pleasure of, the American Colonization Society.

**ART. 11.** The Governor shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army, of the Navy, and of the Militia of the Commonwealth; he shall have power to call the Militia or any portion thereof into actual service, whenever the public exigency shall require; and he shall have the appointment of all military and naval officers, except the captains and subalterns of militia companies, who may be elected by their respective companies.

**ART. 12.** The lands owned by the Society, and all other property belonging to the Society, and in the Commonwealth, shall be under the exclusive control of the Governor and such agents as he may appoint under the direction of the Society.

**ART. 13.** The Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, shall ap-

point all officers, whose appointment or election is not otherwise specially provided for in this Constitution.

ART. 14. There shall be a Lieutenant Governor, who shall be elected by the people in such manner as shall be provided by law. He shall exercise the office of Governor, in case of a vacancy in that office, occasioned by the Governor's death or resignation, or in case the Governor shall delegate to him the temporary authority of Governor during the Governor's absence or sickness.

#### *Judicial Power.*

ART. 15. The judicial power of the Commonwealth of Liberia shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Governor and Council may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The Governor shall be, *ex officio*, Chief Justice of Liberia, and as such shall preside in the Supreme Court, which shall have only appellate jurisdiction. The Judges, both of the Supreme and inferior Courts, except the Chief Justice, shall hold their offices during good behavior.

ART. 16. A code or uniform system of civil and criminal law, shall be provided by the American Colonization Society for the Commonwealth of Liberia.

ART. 17. The present criminal laws in force in the several colonies or settlements now forming the Commonwealth of Liberia, and such others as may, from time to time, be enacted, shall constitute the criminal code of the Commonwealth. Such parts of the common law as set forth in Blackstone's Commentaries, as may be applicable to the situation of the people, except as changed by the laws now in force, and such as may hereafter be enacted, shall be the civil code of law for the Commonwealth.

#### *Miscellaneous.*

ART. 18. A great seal shall be provided for the Colonies, whereby the official and private acts of the Governor shall be authenticated, and the custody thereof shall be committed to the Colonial Secretary.

ART. 19. Until otherwise provided by law, the Commonwealth of Liberia shall be divided into counties, as follows: Monrovia, New Georgia, Caldwell and Millsburg, shall constitute one county, under the name of the county of *Montserrat*; and Bassa Cove, Edina, Bexley, and Marshall, shall constitute the other county, under the name of the county of *Grand Bassa*.

ART. 20. There shall be no slavery in the Commonwealth.

ART. 21. There shall be no dealing in slaves by any citizen of the Commonwealth, either within or beyond the limits of the same.

ART. 22. Emigration shall not be prohibited.

ART. 23. The right of trial by jury, and the right of petition, shall be inviolate.

ART. 24. No person shall be debarred from prosecuting or defending any civil cause for or against himself or herself, before any tribunal in the Commonwealth, by himself or herself or counsel.

ART. 25. Every male citizen of the age of twenty-one years shall have the right of suffrage.

ART. 26. All elections shall be by ballot.

ART. 27. The military shall at all times, and in all cases, be in subjection to the civil power.

ART. 28. Agriculture, the mechanic arts, and manufactures, shall be encouraged within the Commonwealth; and commerce shall be promoted by such methods as shall tend to develop the agricultural resources of the Commonwealth, advance the moral social and political interests of the people, increase their strength, and accelerate and firmly establish and secure their national independence.

ART. 29. The standards of weight, measure and money, used and approved by the Government of the United States of America, are hereby adopted as the standards of weight, measure and money within the Commonwealth of Liberia. But the Governor and Council shall have power to settle the value of the actual currency of the Commonwealth, according to the metallic currency of the United States of America.

We give a page, from the account of the weather, copied from the  
**THERMOMETRICAL JOURNAL AT CAPE PALMAS,**

BY JOHN KEVEY, COLONIAL SECRETARY.

| 1837.   | 6     | 12 | 2     | 9     | REMARKS.                    |
|---------|-------|----|-------|-------|-----------------------------|
|         | A. M. | M. | P. M. | P. M. |                             |
| Aug. 17 | 78    | 78 | 79    | 76    | Rainy and dark.             |
| 18      | 77    | 78 | 76    | 75    | do. do.                     |
| 19      | 76    | 76 | 77    | 76    | do. not sultry.             |
| 20      | 76    | 76 | 76    | 76    | Stormy and rainy.           |
| 21      | 74    | 77 | 77    | 75    | do. do.                     |
| 22      | 74    | 76 | 77    | 77    | do. do.                     |
| 23      | 73    | 75 | 77    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| 24      | 75    | 76 | 76    | 74    | do. do.                     |
| 25      | 76    | 74 | 76    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| 26      | 74    | 77 | 78    | 75    | Rainy.                      |
| 27      | 76    | 78 | 75    | 74    | Stormy.                     |
| 28      | 74    | 75 | 76    | 77    | do.                         |
| 29      | 76    | 76 | 74    | 72    | Cloudy and rainy.           |
| 30      | 72    | 76 | 76    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| 31      | 73    | 75 | 77    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| Sept. 1 | 76    | 78 | 77    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| 2       | 76    | 74 | 74    | 73    | do. do.                     |
| 3       | 73    | 75 | 75    | 74    | do. do.                     |
| 4       | 74    | 77 | 77    | 75    | do. do.                     |
| 5       | 75    | 76 | 78    | 76    | Clear and pleasant.         |
| 6       | 75    | 80 | 79    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| 7       | 75    | 77 | 76    | 74    | do. do.                     |
| 8       | 74    | 77 | 78    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| 9       | 75    | 79 | 79    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| 10      | 75    | 76 | 76    | 75    | Cloudy, no rain.            |
| 11      | 76    | 76 | 76    | 74    | do. do.                     |
| 12      | 75    | 77 | 76    | 74    | Rainy and windy.            |
| 13      | 74    | 77 | 75    | 75    | Cloudy, no rain.            |
| 14      | 75    | 83 | 81    | 66    | Clear and pleasant.         |
| 15      | 76    | 80 | 81    | 74    | do. do.                     |
| 16      | 74    | 76 | 79    | 75    | do. do.                     |
| 17      | 76    | 80 | 81    | 76    | Clear.                      |
| 18      | 76    | 78 | 78    | 77    | do. and pleasant.           |
| 19      | 75    | 80 | 78    | 76    | Cloudy.                     |
| 20      | 76    | 82 | 80    | 76    | do. and sultry.             |
| 21      | 76    | 79 | 80    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| 22      | 76    | 78 | 78    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| 23      | 75    | 78 | 78    | 65    | do. do.                     |
| 24      | 76    | 77 | 76    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| 25      | 75    | 79 | 78    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| 26      | 75    | 78 | 79    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| 27      | 76    | 81 | 81    | 78    | do. do.                     |
| 28      | 78    | 78 | 77    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| 29      | 76    | 83 | 82    | 78    | do. do.                     |
| 30      | 76    | 81 | 81    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| Oct. 1  | 78    | 82 | 82    | 78    | Clear, warm at noon.        |
| 2       | 76    | 79 | 78    | 76    | do. do. do.                 |
| 3       | 78    | 80 | 79    | 77    | Land breezes.               |
| 4       | 77    | 83 | 82    | 78    |                             |
| 5       | 74    | 79 | 80    | 77    |                             |
| 6       | 76    | 79 | 79    | 76    | Cloudy and sultry, no rain. |
| 7       | 76    | 83 | 82    | 78    | Cloudy.                     |
| 8       | 76    | 83 | 83    | 78    | do.                         |
| 9       | 78    | 80 | 80    | 78    | do.                         |
| 10      | 76    | 77 | 77    | 76    | do.                         |
| 11      | 75    | 77 | 78    | 76    | Rainy.                      |
| 12      | 76    | 78 | 78    | 76    | Heavy rains.                |
| 13      | 76    | 79 | 79    | 76    | Heavy rains in the morning. |
| 14      | 75    | 76 | 76    | 76    | do. do.                     |
| 15      | 76    | 77 | 77    | 76    | Cloudy and rainy.           |

## AN APPEAL TO CHRISTIANS

*In behalf of*

## AMERICAN COLONIZATION.

The missionary character of the American Colonization Society cannot fail to interest most deeply every benevolent mind. It is a missionary work in two aspects. First, as it regards the colored man in this country; and secondly, as it respects the native of Africa.

It manumits the slave; breaks down many of those obstacles to knowledge and to goodness which necessarily exist in his enslaved condition; restores him to the land of his fathers; raises him to the dignity and self respect of a freeman, and opens before him a field of enterprise, of usefulness, and of happiness.

But this is only the beginning of the work of Colonization, or more properly of its fruits. Every company of emigrants may be regarded as a band of missionaries to Africa. They go to that country with some knowledge of the gospel; are accompanied by intelligent white ministers of Christ; a Christian society is immediately formed which becomes a bright and powerful centre of civilization and of religion. How mighty must be the influence of such a minister and people upon the surrounding nations of Africa, and how rapid will be the triumphs of the gospel in such circumstances!

What an appeal, then, does the American Colonization Society make to every denomination of Christians in our land! and may we not respectfully suggest to **THE DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS BODIES IN OUR LAND**—Presbyteries, Associations, Conferences, and Conventions—to recommend the interests of this Society to the affections, the prayers and the liberality of their respective churches. Something has been done in this way already. But does not this great cause demand something more? Should not bleeding Africa have a large place in the affections of all Christians? And would not an earnest appeal and recommendation from the congregated wisdom and piety of our country, be regarded with deep interest by the community generally, and rouse those feelings in every denomination which have too long lain dormant? The

sufferings of some nominal Christians in Palestine, as those sufferings were depicted by Peter the Hermit, once roused all Europe to precipitate itself upon Asia. If the wrongs of Africa were contemplated by the Christians of this country in their reality; especially if Christians could be made to see that the day of her redemption was drawing nigh, through the influence of Colonization, we doubt not all America would come up to a work more holy in its character, and more certain, as well as more glorious, in its results.

**LET CHRISTIAN LADIES** in every part of our country come to this Society with their efficient aid. In every good work they have always been foremost. They can form Societies; they can perform the self denying work of soliciting donations; they can circulate information, and they can pour out their fervent prayers to God for His favor and blessing.

Every Pastor, Rector, Presbyter, and Bishop, should be a life member of this Society; and who can do this work so cheerfully, or so acceptably, as the ladies? Let every lady, then, who reads this, resolve that her minister shall be made a life member of this Society.

**RICH and benevolent men** may find in this Society a claim to their high and kind regard. Let such ask themselves "can I not redeem some African from his bondage, and restore him to the land of his fathers? Can I not kindle a light of civilization, of liberty, of religion, in Africa, which shall never be extinguished? Can I not lay up treasure in this Society which shall never rust, and which shall gather its interest in a nation redeemed from oppression, and beautified with salvation?"

Will those who, when about to depart to the world of glory, remember their obligations to a wretched world, and bequeath their gifts for its amelioration, not forget the claims of Africa, and leave her a legacy which shall bless the present generation and thousands yet unborn?

Remittances should be made to P. Thomson, E-q., Treasurer. Communications relating to emigrants, agencies, and the general business of the Society, addressed to S. Wilkeson, General Agent of the American Colonization Society, Washington City, D. C.



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# SKETCHES OF LIBERIA:

COMPRISING

*Notes with Trav  
& Liberia*

A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF THE

GEOGRAPHY, CLIMATE, PRODUCTIONS,

AND DISEASES,

OF THE

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

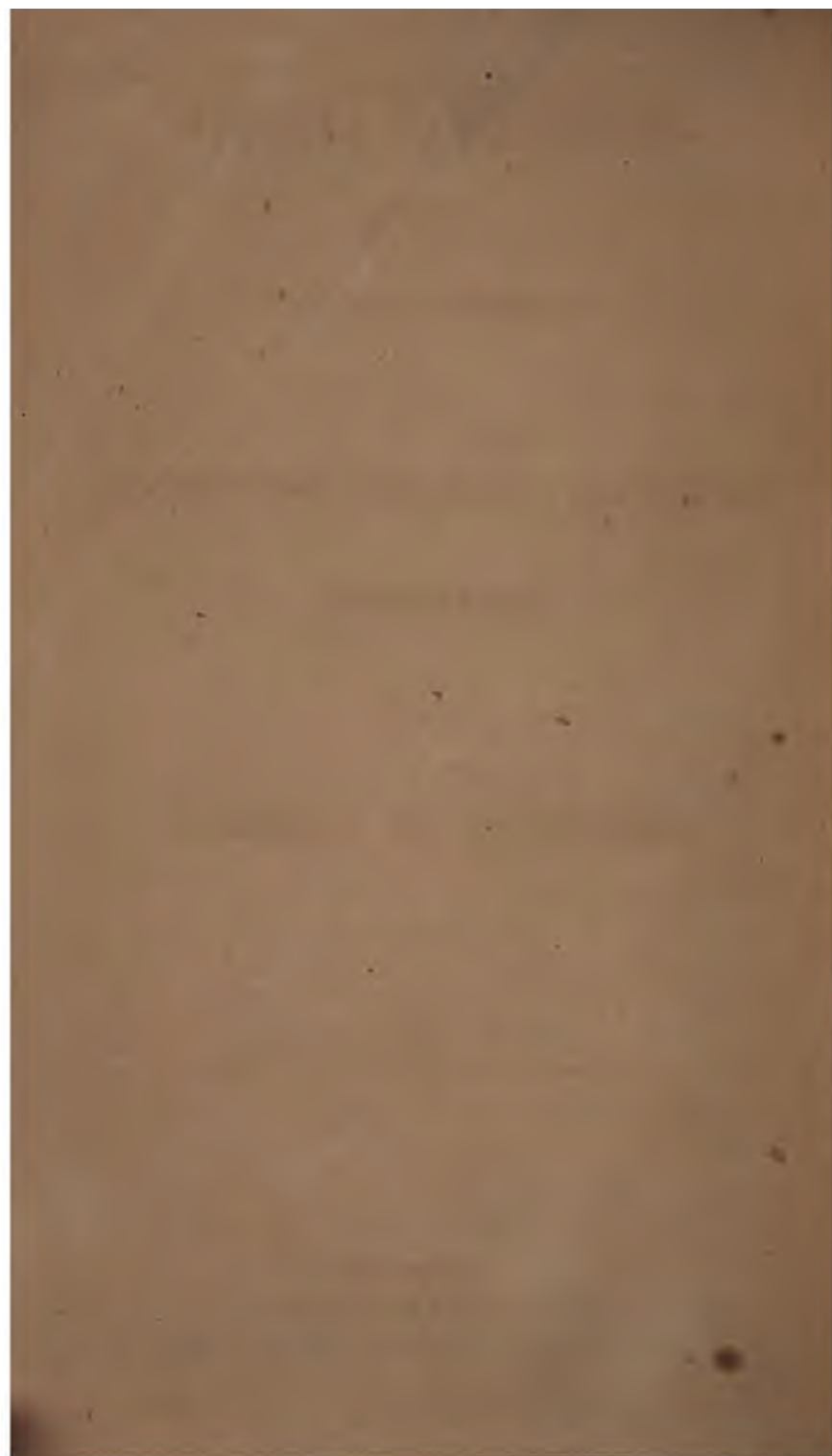
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BY J. W. LUGENBEEL,

Late Colonial Physician and U. S. Agent in Liberia.  
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WASHINGTON:

C. ALEXANDER, PRINTER,

1850.



SKETCHES OF LIBERIA:

COMPRISING

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Gift of  
Rev. Charles Spear,  
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# CONTENTS.

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|                                                | Page. |
|------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Introduction.....                              | 5     |
| SKETCH NO. I.                                  |       |
| Geography.....                                 | 6     |
| SKETCH NO. II.                                 |       |
| Settlements.....                               | 9     |
| SKETCH NO. III.                                |       |
| Climate and Seasons.....                       | 12    |
| SKETCH NO. IV.                                 |       |
| Productions.....                               | 16    |
| SKETCH NO. V.                                  |       |
| Productions continued—Exportable articles..... | 21    |
| SKETCH NO. VI.                                 |       |
| Productions continued—Animals.....             | 26    |
| SKETCH NO. VII.                                |       |
| Diseases—Acclimating Fever.....                | 30    |
| SKETCH NO. VIII.                               |       |
| Diseases continued.....                        | 35    |
| Conclusion.....                                | 39    |



# SKETCHES OF LIBERIA.

## INTRODUCTION.

A decided conviction of the necessity of a work in which the earnest inquirer may find the principal topics of information, which he may desire, respecting the Republic of Liberia, is the motive which has induced the author of these sketches to consent to their publication. His long residence in Liberia, and the great care with which he endeavored to make observations, and to acquire information from the most authentic sources, embolden him to believe that these sketches, presented as they are with the utmost ingenuousness, are worthy the candid consideration of all who desire a knowledge of the truth, respecting the condition and prospects of the little African Republic. Though they may possibly contain some slight inaccuracies, yet the author believes that a more truthful, comprehensive, and impartial account of matters and things as they really exist in Liberia, has not been given to the public. And with no other motive in view than a desire to impart needful and correct information, he leaves this little work to the candid perusal of the unbiassed reader; in the hope that some good may result from this part of his labors in the cause of humanity.

It was his design at first to preface these sketches with an outline of the history of Liberia, but fearing that this would too greatly swell the size of this pamphlet, he has concluded to omit all historical de-

tails, and to present a simple and concise account of *Liberia as it is*. It may not be amiss, however, to state briefly, for the information of those persons whose attention has not been particularly directed to the rise and progress of the young Republic, that the first company of emigrants sent from this country under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, embarked at New York, in February, 1820. They did not, however, succeed in establishing a permanent asylum for themselves and for their followers and descendants, until the early part of the year 1822; at which time the American flag was first hoisted on Cape Mesurado, the site of the present handsome and flourishing town of Monrovia. From that time, the little colony continued to progress, with various trials and discouragements, under the government of the indefatigable Ashmun, and other white persons sent out from time to time by the Colonization Society, until the early part of 1839, when, under the government of Thomas Buchanan, Esq., the "Commonwealth" was established; marking a new epoch in the progress as well as in the history of Liberia. Gov. Buchanan having died while in the discharge of the arduous and responsible duties of his station, the management of the government devolved on Gen. Joseph J. Roberts, the Lieutenant Governor, who was appointed Governor of the Commonwealth by the

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 Geography—Extent of territory.
 

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Colonization Society, soon after the melancholy tidings of the death of Governor Buchanan reached the United States; and who continued to fill the office, under the auspices of the Society, until the establishment of the Republic, and the consequent new organization of the Government.

In the month of July, 1847, a convention of delegates, elected by the people, met at Monrovia, and formed the Constitution of the **REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA**, which, with a *declaration of independence*, was given to the people, and published to the world. And in the month of October of that year, Gov. Roberts was elected the first President of the Republic. During the succeeding year, the independence of the Republic of Liberia was formally recognized and acknowledged by the Governments of Great Britain and France. And thus, in about

twenty-six years from the time of the founding of a little colony on the western coast of Africa, composed of about one hundred free persons of color from the United States, an independent Republic composed entirely of colored persons, has sprung up as it were on that distant coast, recognized by two of the most powerful nations in the world, and standing "self-poised and erect," a monument of American benevolence, under the direction and fostering care of Divine Providence.

To all who may wish to peruse a very interesting, correct, and strikingly beautiful history of Liberia, the author cordially recommends a little book which has lately appeared, the "*New Republic*," written by an American lady, and published by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society.

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 SKETCH—No. I.
 

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**GEOGRAPHY.**—That portion of the western coast of Africa which has received the appellation of Liberia, embraces a tract of country included between the parallels of 4° 20' and 7° north latitude, extending about 400 miles along the coast. All the territory which lies between these two points has been purchased from the original proprietors and rightful owners of the soil, except two or three small tracts, comprising in all about twenty-five miles of sea-coast. Negotiations will be entered into, as early as practicable, for the fair and honorable purchase of these remaining tracts; and also for that important section of country lying between the northern boundary of Liberia and the Colony of Sierra Leone. It is hoped and expected that these purchases will soon be effected; and that the whole line of the sea-coast between the British Colony and the

south-eastern boundary of "Maryland in Liberia," (about 500 miles,) will soon be under the jurisdiction and government of the Republic and the Maryland Colony.

The first tract was purchased in the early part of 1822, embracing a small extent of territory in the vicinity of Cape Mesurado. Other portions have, at different times, been purchased—the greater part within the last few years. The interior boundaries of the purchased tracts are generally not definitely prescribed. They usually extend from about ten to thirty miles from the coast.

In no instance, have the natives, from whom the land was purchased, been required to remove their residences, or to abandon their usual customs, except that of trading in slaves, and the practice of such superstitious rites or ceremonies as

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NOTE.—Since the above was put in type, information has been received from Liberia of the purchase, except two small tracts of about five miles each, of all the territory above referred to, including Gallinas, which, until very lately, was one of the most noted slave-marts on the coast of Africa.



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 Appearance of the Country—Water—Soil and Rivers.
 

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tend to deprive any of their fellow beings of life. And, in all the written contracts which have been entered into between the Agents of the Colonization Society and the native chiefs, the latter have invariably obligated themselves, in behalf of the people over whom they preside, to conform to the laws and regulations of the Liberia government.

As in most other countries, similarly situated, the land in the immediate vicinity of the ocean in Liberia, is generally low; and, in some places, it is very marshy. There are some elevated spots, however; such as those on which the villages of Monrovia and Harper are located. The land generally becomes more elevated towards the interior; and, in some places, within fifty miles of the coast, it is quite mountainous.

Far as the eye can reach from the highest points of land in the vicinity of the ocean, the whole country presents the appearance of a deep, unbroken forest, with hill-top rising above hill-top towards the vast interior; the country consisting, not as is supposed by some persons, of arid plains and burning sands, but of hills and valleys, covered with the verdure of perpetual spring. The country is well watered:—many beautiful streams may be seen winding their way amidst blooming flowers and wild shrubbery; and many cooling springs of clear, sparkling water invite the weary traveler to linger and quench his thirst. In all the settlements in Liberia, good water can be procured without much difficulty; and though in the dry season, as in this country after a long dry spell in summer, some of the springs fail, for a time; yet, as good water can always be obtained by digging wells, and as many of the springs never fail, there need not be any fear about getting plenty of good water at any time in the year.

**Soil.** The soil of Liberia, like that of other countries, varies in appearance, quali-

ty, and productiveness. That of the uplands, though generally much inferior to that of the low lands, is better adapted for some articles. The upland soil usually consists of a reddish clay, more or less mixed with soft rocks and stones, containing considerable quantities of iron. That of the lowlands, in the immediate vicinity of the ocean, consists principally of sand; and it is really astonishing to perceive how well many vegetables will grow in this kind of soil, even within fifty yards of the ocean, in some places. Besides this sandy soil, there are two other varieties of lowland soil; one of which is that on the banks of the rivers, within a few miles of the sea: this consists of a loose, deep, black mould; which is peculiarly adapted to the growth of those kinds of vegetables which thrive best during the dry season. The other variety is that which is generally found extending back from the banks of the rivers, farther from the sea than the last named: this consists of a light-colored clay, more or less tempered with sand; and it is well adapted to almost every kind of vegetable which will thrive in tropical climates.

**Rivers.** There are no very large rivers in Liberia; and, although some of them are from one-fourth to three-fourths of a mile wide, for fifty miles or more from their entrance into the ocean; yet, none of them are navigable to a greater distance than twenty miles; the navigation being obstructed by rapids. The St. Paul's, the St. John's, and the Junk are the largest; and, indeed, they are the only rivers of any considerable length or width. The other principal rivers are the Cape Mount, the Meclin, the New Cess, the Grand Cess, the Sanguin, the Sinou, and the Grand Seaters. Some of these present a bold appearance at their mouths; but they are all comparatively short; and none of them are navigable for boats, or even for canoes, more than twenty miles.

## Rivers—St. Paul's—St. John's and Junk.

The *St. Paul's* river is a beautiful stream of water. It is three-fourths of a mile wide at the widest part, (at Caldwell,) and about three-eighths of a mile wide at Millsburg, about fourteen miles from its mouth.

The banks of this river rise from ten to twenty feet above the water; and, except in places which have been cleared, they are covered with large forest trees; among which may be seen the graceful palm, rearing aloft its green-tufted head, and standing in all its pride and beauty, the ornament and the glory of its native land. The *St. Paul's* is perhaps the longest river in Liberia. It is studded with many beautiful islands, abounding in camwood, palm, and many other valuable forest trees; and its banks furnish many beautiful sites for residences. Many native hamlets may be seen on the banks of this lovely river—the homes of the untutored children of the forest—the benighted sons and daughters of Africa. The *St. Paul's* bifurcates about three miles from its mouth: the principal stream rolls on towards the ocean, while the other fork flows in a south-easterly direction, almost parallel with the beach, and unites with the little *Mesurado* river near its mouth; and thus an island is formed, about eight miles long, and from one to two in width, called *Bushrod Island*. This latter fork of the river is called *Stockton Creek*, in honor of Commodore *Stockton* of the United States Navy.

The *St. John's* river is also a beautiful stream. It is about sixty miles south-east of the *St. Paul's*; and it flows through that part of Liberia, which is known as the *Grand Bassa* country. At the widest point, it is nearly or quite a mile wide. Its length, however, is supposed to be less than that of the *St. Paul's*. The *St. John's* is also studded with numerous islands; the largest of which is *Factory Island*, about three miles from its mouth. The banks of this river also rise considerably above the water

and the land bordering on it is also very productive.

The *Junk* river, which is about equidistant from the other two named rivers, is the third in size and importance. The main branch is supposed to be equal in length to the *St. John's*. The northern branch, which is only about forty miles long, is noted as a thoroughfare between *Monrovia* and *Marshall*. At the place of embarkation, a few miles below its source, it is not more than five yards wide; but it gradually expands to the width of more than half a mile.

The appearance of the country along the banks of these rivers, and of the numerous little islands which they form, is highly picturesque.

The banks of the *St. Paul's* and the *St. John's*, in many places, present encouraging scenes of agricultural industry; showing the handiwork of a people, whose social condition is vastly superior to that of their aboriginal neighbors; and who are thus placing before the indolent and improvident natives, illustrations of the great superiority of the habits of civilized people to their own degrading customs; examples which must eventually exert a powerful influence on the minds and practice of the contiguous native tribes.

And thus, while the mind of the traveler is oppressed by the melancholy consideration of the moral and intellectual darkness of the scattered tribes of human beings, whose desolate-looking hamlets frequently meet his view, as he wends his way amidst the dense forests of the uncultivated hills and dales of Africa; he is encouraged to believe that the time will come, when this extensive "wilderness shall be made glad" by the labors of industrious agriculturists, and when this vast desert of intellectual and moral degradation "shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose."

## Settlements—Monrovia.

**SKETCH—No. 2.**

**SETTLEMENTS.**—The villages and townships in Liberia, are Monrovia, New Georgia, Caldwell, Virginia, Millsburg, Marshall, Edina, Bassa Cove, Bexley, Greenville and Readsville. Besides these, there are a few other localities, which are sometimes called by one name and sometimes by another.

Monrovia is the largest and oldest of all the settlements; and it is the metropolis, and the seat of government of the Republic. It is located near the mouth of the Mesurado river, (a small stream about fifteen miles long,) about four miles southeast of the entrance of the St. Paul's river into the ocean, on an elevated site, immediately in the rear of Cape Mesurado, in latitude  $6^{\circ} 19'$  North. The highest point of the hill on which the village stands, and which is near its centre, is about eighty feet above the level of the ocean, and about three-fourths of a mile from the summit of the Cape, which is about two hundred and fifty feet above the sea. Cape Mesurado is a bold promontory, covered with massive forest trees and dense undergrowth; except in places which have been cleared. On the summit of the Cape is a light-house and a fort; and along the sloping declivity, towards the village of Monrovia, there are several cleared lots, on which small houses have been erected; in some places, affording very pleasant places of residence. The greater part of the promontory, however, is very rocky. The course of the coast north of the Cape, forms a kind of bay, which generally affords safe anchorage for vessels; and the cove, near the base of the Cape, affords as good a landing on the beach as can be found on almost any other part of the coast.

The village of Monrovia, although more compact than any of the other settlements in Liberia, occupies a considerable extent

of ground; being about three-fourths of a mile in length. It is laid off with as much regularity as the location will allow; and the streets, of which there are about fifteen in number, have received regular names. The village is divided into lots of one-fourth of an acre, and most of the dwelling-houses have a lot attached to each of them. Most of the lots, and several of the streets, are adorned with various tropical fruit trees; and some of the gardens present a handsome appearance. If the streets were kept entirely clear of weeds and bushes, the village of Monrovia, viewed from the summit of the Cape, or from the mouth of the Mesurado river, would present a beautiful appearance, in contrast with the dense forest, by which it is almost surrounded. The houses are generally one story or a story and a half high: some are two full stories. Many of them are substantially built of stone or brick; and some of the best houses are built partly of both these materials. The state-house is a large stone building, which was erected in 1843-4, at an expense of nearly five thousand dollars. In the rear of this building, is a substantial stone prison. There are three commodious stone houses for public worship in the village—Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian; nearly all of the professing christians in the place being attached to one or the other of these religious denominations.

At the base of the hill on which stand the principal dwelling houses, there are several large stone buildings, which are occupied as stores and warehouses. The dwellings of many of the citizens of Monrovia are not only comfortably, but elegantly, and some of them richly, furnished; and some of the residents of this little bustling metropolis live in a style of ease and affluence, which does not comport with the contracted views of those persons, who regard a residence in Africa as necessarily associated

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 New Georgia—Caldwell—Virginia—Millsburg and Marshall.
 

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with the almost entire privation of the good things of this life. For several years past, there have been two newspapers published regularly at Monrovia; the "Liberia Herald," and "Africa's Luminary." The population of Monrovia is about twelve hundred; exclusive of native children and youths who reside in the families of the citizens.

*New Georgia* is a small township, located on the eastern side of Stockton Creek, about five miles from Monrovia. It is occupied principally by native Africans, who were formerly slaves. Upwards of two hundred of the liberated Africans who have been, or who now are, residents of New Georgia, were sent to Liberia by the United States Government, at different times. Many of these have married persons, who were born in the United States; and have thereby become more strongly identified with the Liberians, as citizens of the Republic. Some of them are partially educated; and, a few years ago, one of them occupied a seat in the Legislature. As most of the citizens of New Georgia have taken the oath of allegiance, they are permitted to enjoy equal immunities with other citizens. A great portion of the vegetables which are used in Monrovia are raised at New Georgia.

*Caldwell* is situated on the eastern side of the St. Paul's river. The whole settlement, which is divided for convenience, into Upper and Lower Caldwell, is about six miles in length, extending along the bank of the river; the nearest part to Monrovia being about nine miles distant. The houses are from one hundred yards to a quarter of a mile, or more, apart; and, of course, this settlement has not much the appearance of a town. Some of the most enterprising farmers in Liberia reside at this place. The land about Caldwell is generally remarkably productive.

*Virginia*, or New Virginia, as it is sometimes called, is a new settlement, formed principally in the early part of 1846. It is also on the St. Paul's river, opposite Caldwell. This is the site of the United States Receptacle for liberated Africans, erected in 1847.

*Millsburg* is the farthest settlement from the sea-coast of any in Liberia. It is situated on the northern bank of the St. Paul's river, about fourteen miles from its mouth, and about twenty miles from Monrovia. Like the other farming settlements, the houses generally are separated at a considerable distance from one another; so that, the whole township extends about a mile and a half along the bank of the river. Millsburg is perhaps the most beautiful, and one of the most healthy locations in Liberia. The land is remarkably good, and of easy cultivation. A flourishing Female Academy is in operation at this place, under the care of Mrs. Wilkins, missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church. And, on the opposite side of the river is White Plains, a mission station of the same Church.

Besides these settlements, there are numerous other points along the St. Paul's river, which are occupied by farmers; so that, the banks of this beautiful stream present, in many places, the appearance of agricultural industry and comfort.

*Marshall* is situated at the mouth of the Junk river, about thirty-five miles south of Monrovia. Most of the houses in this place are built along the sea-shore. This place is particularly noted for the manufacture of lime; which is obtained altogether from oyster and other shells. Most of the lime that is used in Liberia is made in the vicinity of Marshall. The river at this place abounds in oysters. And though they are not quite equal to those procured in some parts of the United States, yet they

## Edina—Bassa Cove—Bexley—Greenville and Readville.

are quite palatable, when served up as they ought to be.

*Edina* is located on the northern bank of the St. John's river, about half a mile from its mouth. It is handsomely situated; and, in reference to the healthiness of the location, it is perhaps equal to most others in Liberia. Some of the citizens of Edina are engaged in the cultivation of exportable articles of produce.

*Bassa Cove* is located at the junction of the Benson river (a small stream) with the St. John's, nearly opposite Edina. Several of the citizens of this place also have given considerable attention to the cultivation of coffee, arrow-root, and ginger, during the last few years.

*Bexley* is situated on the northern side of the St. John's river, about six miles from its mouth. This place, like the settlements on the St. Paul's river, occupies a considerable extent of territory. It is divided into Upper and Lower Bexley; both together extending about four miles along the river. Bexley is a fine farming settlement; the land is excellent; and the location is comparatively healthy. Several of the citizens of this place are pretty actively engaged in cultivating articles for exportation. This is certainly one of the most interesting settlements in Liberia. The mission of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions is located at this place; also the head-quarters of the Southern Baptist Mission.

*Greenville* is situated at the mouth of the Sinou river, about one hundred and thirty miles by sea southeast of Monrovia. Like the settlement of Marshall, most of the houses are located along the sea-shore. Greenville presents a handsome appearance from the anchorage. It is one of the most healthy settlements in Liberia. The land in the immediate vicinity of Greenville, and indeed, of all the other settlements near the sea-shore, is much inferior to that on the

banks of the rivers, several miles from their entrance into the ocean. Consequently, those persons who expect to live by "the sweat of their brow," in the cultivation of the soil, will find it greatly to their advantage to locate beyond the sound of the breaking surf of the ocean.

*Readville* is a small farming settlement, on the Sinou river, about five miles above Greenville. It was formed principally by the people who were manumitted by the late Mrs. Read of Mississippi.

In every settlement, there is one place, or more, of public worship, in which religious services are regularly held. And, in nearly every settlement, there is one regular day and Sunday school, or more. The principal deficiency in the system of education in Liberia, consists in the inability to procure the services of a sufficient number of competent teachers. I trust that the time is not far distant, when a more uniform, permanent, and effectual system of education will be in operation, in all the settlements in Liberia. Most of the schools are supported by benevolent societies in the United States; and most of the pulpits are filled by ministers who receive stated salaries from one or other of the Missionary Societies in the United States.

As the census has not been taken for several years, I cannot give the exact population of the different settlements, and the exact aggregate population of the Republic. I think, however, that the whole number of inhabitants of the Republic, exclusive of the aborigines, may be set down at about 4,000.

## MARYLAND IN LIBERIA.

The Colony of "Maryland in Liberia," which has always maintained a distinctive character, and which has always been under a different government, from the Republic of Liberia, was established in the early part of the year 1834. Ever since that period, it has continued to progress in in-

## Climate and seasons—rainy and dry seasons.

terest and importance; and, at present, it occupies a prominent position, as an asylum for the proscribed descendants of Ham; to whom the siren song of "My native land" loses its mellowing cadence in the thrilling, patriotic sound of "Sweet land of liberty."

This interesting Colony is located about two hundred and fifty miles by sea south-east from Monrovia. Harper, the principal town or settlement; is situated near the point of the Cape; (Cape Palmas, a bold projecting promontory, which is one of the most prominent points or land-marks on the western coast of Africa;) and, from the anchorage, it presents a handsome appearance. At the distance of about half a mile from Harper is the town of East Harper; in which are several beautiful sites for residences, commanding a fine view of the ocean, and of the adjacent hills and vales. Between these two villages, there are two large native towns, comprising several hundred houses, which present a marked contrast with the comfortable looking dwellings of the colonists. At the distance of about two and a half miles beyond East Harper is another settlement, called Tubmantown. Most of the land near the road between these two villages is occupied by the colonists; so that on both sides of this highway, many neat little cottages may be seen, and many handsome gardens and small farms.

The whole population of Maryland in Liberia, exclusive of aborigines, is about 900.

## SKETCH—No. 3.

CLIMATE AND SEASONS.—The territory of Liberia being within a few degrees of the equator, of course the nature of the climate is essentially different from that of the United States, the vicissitudes of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, not being experienced in the equatorial regions of the earth; there being continued summer weather

throughout the year; interrupted only by occasional slight variations in the thermometrical state of the atmosphere; caused by the greater strength of the ordinary breezes, and by clouds and rain; which latter prevail so much more, during one half of the year, than during the other half, as to give rise to the usually recognized division of the year into two seasons—the *wet* or *rainy season*, and the *dry season*; or, in common parlance, "the rains" and "the dries;" the former of which answers nearly to summer and autumn, and the latter to winter and spring, in temperate latitudes.

This unqualified and somewhat arbitrary division of the year, however, has led many persons into error, respecting the real state of the weather, during these two seasons; some supposing that during the rainy season, more or less rain falls every day; and, on the other hand, during the dry season, an uninterrupted spell of hot and dry weather prevails for six successive months. This is so far from being the case, that, as a general rule, it may be stated, that some rain falls during every month in the year; and, in every month, there is some fine, clear, pleasant weather. During my residence in Liberia, I seldom observed a deviation from this general rule. Much more rain, however, falls, during the six months beginning with May, than during the remaining six months beginning with November. It is difficult, however, to determine at what time each of the two seasons actually commences and closes. As a general rule, I think the middle of May may be set down as the beginning of the rainy season, and the middle of November that of the dry season. In order, however, to give an accurate and comprehensive statement of the character of the climate and seasons of Liberia, it may be the best plan, to note the vicissitudes of each month in the year, as they are usually presented.

## January—harmattan wind—February and March.

*January* is usually the driest, and one of the warmest months in the year. Sometimes, during this month, no rain at all falls; but generally there are occasional slight showers, particularly at night. Were it not for the sea-breeze, which prevails with almost uninterrupted regularity, during the greater part of the day, on almost every day throughout the year, the weather would be exceedingly oppressive, during the first three or four months of the year. As it is, the oppressiveness of the rays of the tropical sun, is greatly mitigated by the cooling breezes from the ocean; which usually blow from about 10 o'clock A. M. to about 10 P. M., the land-breeze occupying the remainder of the night and morning; except for an hour or two about the middle of the night, and about an hour in the forenoon. During these intervals, the atmosphere is sometimes very oppressive. The regularity of the sea-breeze, especially during the month of January, is sometimes interrupted by the longer continuance of the land-breeze, which occasionally does not cease blowing until 2 or 3 o'clock P. M. This is what is called the *harmattan* wind; about which a great deal has been written; but which does not generally fully accord with the forced descriptions of hasty observers or copyists.

The principal peculiarity of the harmattan wind consists in its drying properties, and its very sensible coolness, especially early in the morning. It seldom, perhaps never, continues during the whole day; and usually not much longer than the ordinary land-breeze, at other times in the year. When this wind blows pretty strongly, the leaves and covers of books sometimes curl, as if they had been placed near a fire; the seams of furniture, and of wooden vessels, sometimes open considerably, and the skin of persons sometimes feels peculiarly dry and unpleasant, in consequence of the rapid evaporation of both the sensible and the in-

sensible perspiration. But these effects are usually by no means so great as they have been represented to be. What is generally called the harmattan season usually commences about the middle of December, and continues until the latter part of February. During this time, especially during the month of January, the atmosphere has a smoky appearance, similar to what is termed Indian summer in the United States, but generally more hazy.

The average height of the mercury in the thermometer, during the month of January, is about 85°, it seldom varies more than 10°, during the twenty-four hours of the day; and usually it does not vary more than four degrees between the hours of 10 A. M. and 10 P. M. During this month, however, I have seen the mercury stand at the lowest mark, at which I ever observed it, in Liberia, that is, at 68°. This was early in the morning, during the prevalence of a strong and very cool land-breeze. During this month I have also seen the mercury stand at the highest mark, at which I ever observed it—that is, at 90°. The air is sometimes uncomfortably cool, before 8 o'clock A. M., during this month.

During the month of *February*, the weather is generally similar to that of January. There are, however, usually more frequent showers of rain; and sometimes, towards the close of this month, slight tornadoes are experienced. The harmattan haze generally disappears about the last of this month; and the atmosphere becomes clear. The range of the thermometer is about the same as in January.

*March* is perhaps the most trying month in the year to the constitutions of newcomers. The atmosphere is usually very oppressive during this month—the sun being nearly vertical. The occasional showers of rain, and the slight tornadoes, which occur in this month, do not usually mitigate the oppressiveness of the atmosphere, as

## April—Tornadoes—May and June.

might be supposed. The variation in the state of the atmosphere, as indicated by the thermometer, seldom exceeds 6° during the whole of this month. The average height of the mercury is about 85°.

April is significantly called the "tornado month," the most numerous and most violent tornadoes usually occurring during this month. The ordinary state of the weather, in reference to the degree of heat, and its influence on the system is not very different from that of the three preceding months. The showers of rain are usually more frequent, however; and the visitations of those peculiar gusts, called *tornadoes*, are much more common in April than in any other month. These are sudden, and sometimes violent gusts, which occur much more frequently at night, than during the day. Although they usually approach suddenly and rapidly yet certain premonitory evidences of their approach are almost always presented, which are generally easily recognized by persons who have frequently observed them. They generally commence from northeast, or east-northeast, and rapidly shift around to nearly southeast; by which time the storm is at its height.

At the commencement of a tornado, dark clouds appear above the eastern horizon, which rapidly ascend, until a dense lurid, looking mass spreads over the whole hemisphere. As the heavy mass of clouds ascends and spreads, the roaring sound of the wind becomes stronger and louder, until suddenly it bursts forth in its fury; sometimes seeming as if it would sweep away every opposing object. Very seldom, however, is any material injury sustained from these violent gusts. The scene is sometimes awfully grand, for fifteen or twenty minutes, during the formation and continuance of a heavy tornado. Sometimes the whole hemisphere presents a scene of the deepest gloom; the darkness of which

is momentarily illuminated by vivid flashes of lightning, in rapid succession; and sometimes tremendous peals of thunder burst upon the solemn stillness of the scene. The rain seldom falls, until the violence of the gust begins to subside; when a torrent of rain usually pours down for a short time, seldom more than half an hour; after which, the wind shifts around towards the west; and generally in about an hour from the commencement of the tornado, the sky becomes serene, and sometimes almost cloudless.

The weather during the month of *May* is usually more pleasant, than during the two preceding months. The atmosphere is generally not quite so warm and oppressive. Sometimes copious and protracted showers of rain fall, during the latter half of this month; so that the beginning of the rainy season usually occurs in this month. Tornadoes also occasionally appear during the month of *May*. The average height of the mercury in the thermometer is usually two or three degrees less, than during the four preceding months.

*June* is perhaps the most rainy month in the year. More or less rain usually falls nearly every day or night in this month. Although there are sometimes clear and pleasant days in *June*; yet, there are seldom twenty-four successive hours of entire freedom from rain. The sun is, however, seldom entirely obscured for a week at a time; and he frequently shines out brightly and pleasantly in the interstices between the floating clouds, several times during the day; occasionally for several hours at a time. During this month, as during all the other rainy months, more rain always falls at night than in the day time; and, indeed, there are very few days in the year, in which the use of an umbrella may not be dispensed with, sometime during the ordinary business hours. In the month of *June*, the atmosphere is always consider-



July—August—September—October—November—December.—Extremes of heat and cold.

ably cooler than during the preceding months; and I have generally found it necessary to wear woolen outer as well as under garments; and to sleep beneath thick covering at night, in order to be comfortably warm. The sensible perspiration is always much less, during this month, and the five succeeding months, than during the other six months in the year. The mercury in the thermometer seldom rises above 80° in this month, the average height being about 75°.

During the months of *July* and *August*, a great deal of rain also generally falls; but perhaps less in both these months than in the preceding one. There is always a short season of comparatively dry, and very pleasant weather, in one or both of these months. This season usually continues from three to five weeks; and generally commences about the 20th or 25th of July. Sometimes, for several successive days, the sun shines brilliantly and pleasantly all day; and no rain falls at night. The air, however, is always refreshingly cool and agreeable. This is perhaps the most pleasant time in the year. This is what is commonly called "the middle dries." It seems as if Providence has specially ordered this temporary cessation of the rains, for the purpose of permitting the ripening and gathering of the crops of rice, which are generally harvested in August.

*September* and *October* are also generally very rainy months; especially the former. Sometimes more rain falls in September, than in any other month in the year. Towards the close of October, the rains begin to be less copious; and sometimes slight tornadoes appear, indicative of the cessation of the rainy season. The sea-breezes are usually very strong, during these two months; and the atmosphere is generally uniformly cool, and invigorating to the physical system.

During the month of *November*, the

weather is generally very pleasant, the temperature of the atmosphere being agreeable to the feelings—not so cool as during the five preceding months, and not so warm as during the five or six succeeding ones, the average height of the mercury in the thermometer being about 82°. Frequent showers of rain usually fall during this month, both in the day and at night; but generally they are of short duration. Slight tornadoes also generally appear in this month. The sun may usually be seen, during a part of every day in the month; and frequently he is not obscured by clouds, during the whole of the time in which he is above the horizon. The middle of this month may be regarded as the beginning of the dry season.

*December* is also generally a very pleasant month. Occasional slight showers of rain fall during this month, sometimes several sprinklings in one day, but seldom for more than a few minutes at a time. The mornings in this month are peculiarly delightful. The sun usually rises with brilliancy and beauty; and the hills and groves, teeming with the verdure of perpetual spring, are enriched by the mingled melody of a thousand cheerful songsters. Nothing that I have ever witnessed in the United States exceeds the loveliness of a December morning in Liberia.

On the whole, I regard the climate of Liberia as decidedly pleasant; notwithstanding the scorching rays of the tropical sun, and the "abundance of rain" which falls during the year, especially during the months of June, July, September and October. So far as the pleasantness of the climate and weather is concerned, I would decidedly prefer a residence in Liberia, to one in any part of the United States.

The extremes of the thermometrical state of the atmosphere may be set down at 65° and 90°. I have never heard of the mercury in a good thermometer having sunk below the former, nor arisen above the latter point.

Productions—Rice—Indian corn and Sweet potatoes.

in the shade. The average height of the mercury, during the rainy season, may be set down at about 76°, and, during the dry season at 84°. The mean temperature for the year is about 80°.

In regard to the comparative healthiness of the two seasons, I may state, that my observations fully convinced me, that the rainy season is decidedly more conducive to health than the dry season, in both new-comers and old settlers. The oppressiveness of the atmosphere, and the enervating effects of the weather, during the dry season, tend to debilitate the physical system, and thereby to render it more susceptible of being affected by the local agents of disease. Consequently, those persons who arrive in Liberia during this season, are more liable to frequent attacks of fever, than those are who arrive during the rainy season. In reference, however, to the acclimating process, I do not think that any great advantage can be gained by arriving at any particular time of the year, more than at any other time. Unnecessary exposure to the heat of the sun during the dry season, and to the rain during the wet season, should alike be avoided. Care and prudence should be exercised by new-comers at all times during the year.

**SKETCH—No. 4.**

**PRODUCTIONS.**—Nearly all the different kinds of grain, roots, and fruits, which are peculiar to intertropical climates, thrive well in Liberia; and many garden vegetables which belong more properly to temperate climates, may be raised, in quality not much inferior to the same kind of articles, produced in climates peculiarly adapted to their growth and maturation.

The only kind of grain, however, which has yet been cultivated to any considerable extent, is *Rice*, which is the great staple of intertropical Africa, and the principal article of food of the numerous *aboriginal inhabitants*. It is also used exten-

sively by the Liberians. And it is undoubtedly the most wholesome article of food which can be used in that country. It is not cultivated very extensively by the Liberians, in consequence of their being able generally to purchase it more cheaply from the natives, than the cultivation of it would cost. In consequence, however, of the increasing demand, it has, of late years, commanded a better price than formerly; which has induced some of the citizens to engage in raising it. Until within the last few years, scarcely any persons attempted to raise it; but, at present, this valuable grain may be seen growing in the neighborhood of several of the settlements in Liberia. Although it grows much better in low, wet land; yet it thrives very well in land more elevated; such as will produce most other articles usually cultivated. It is usually sowed in April, and harvested in August. Sometimes two crops may be made in one year; but generally only one is made. It yields so abundantly, that, notwithstanding the extreme indolence of the natives, who do not work on their farms during three months in the year, they usually raise much more than they require.

*Indian corn*, or maize, will grow very well on some lands in Liberia; and although it does not thrive so well as in some parts of the United States; yet I am quite satisfied that it might be cultivated much more extensively in Liberia than it ever yet has been. I have seen some fine, large ears of corn, which were raised on the St. Paul's river. The small-grained corn, usually called *Guinea-corn*, no doubt will grow well in Liberia (*Guinea*, whence its name;) but strange to say, I have seldom seen it growing there. The natives in the vicinity of the settlements seldom, if ever, raise it.

A variety of esculent roots may be raised in Liberia; the most common of which are, the sweet potato, cassada, yam, and tania.

*Sweet potatoes* may be raised in great abundance, with very little labor, on al-

## Cassada—Yam—Tania—Beans and Peas.

most every kind of land, at any time during the year. I have seen them growing freely in the sandy soil, within fifty yards of the ocean. The poorest persons may easily have a sufficiency of this nutritious vegetable. Those raised in some parts of Liberia are very fine. They generally thrive better during the rainy season, especially on the high lands; but in some places, they thrive very well during the dry season, especially on the flat land bordering on the rivers; and, in many places, they may be gathered during every month in the year, from the same piece of land.

The *Cassada* (as it is usually called, but perhaps more properly *cassava*) is a shrub, which grows from four to eight feet in height, having several white, fleshy roots, covered with a coarse, rough skin. The stem of the shrub is round and jointed, having numerous branches, which are furnished at the upper part with alternate leaves, divided into three, five, or seven acute lobes. The root, which is the only part that is used, arrives at perfection in from nine to fifteen months. The roots vary in size, from six to eighteen inches in length, and from three to eight inches in circumference. In taste, when not cooked, it very much resembles the taste of a fresh chesnut. This vegetable may be raised abundantly, on any kind of soil. It is the only vegetable, except rice which is cultivated to any extent by the natives. It is usually prepared for use, by being boiled, after the skin or rind has been removed, or by being roasted in ashes; and, when properly cooked, it is very palatable and nutritious. The tapioco of the shops is the fecula of the root of the cassada.

The *Yam* is a slender, herbaceous vine, having large tuberous roots, sometimes nearly round, but generally elongated, like the *cassada*, but much larger. The roots of the *yam* are sometimes three feet long, and weigh twenty or thirty pounds. They usually arrive at perfection in four or five months; and they yield very abundantly.

The root of the *yam* is more farinaceous or mealy, when cooked, than that of the *cassada*—almost as much so as the Irish potato. They are more digestible than the *cassada*; and I think more palatable. The *yam* is one of the most wholesome and nutritious esculent roots of any country; and it may be produced in any desired quantity in Liberia.

*Tania* is a delicate, broad-leaved plant, about two feet in height, having a bulbous root, which, when prepared like Irish potatoes, resembles those excellent vegetables very nearly in taste; and it is a very wholesome and nutritious article of food. It may be raised easily and abundantly.

There are other esculent roots, peculiar to tropical climates, which have not yet been introduced; but which, no doubt, would thrive well in Liberia. I have alluded particularly to those only which have been introduced, and which are cultivated there—those which I have seen and eaten myself. And, in addition to those articles to which I have alluded, I may name a few other garden vegetables, which I have seen growing in Liberia: the most common of which are, lima or butter beans, snap beans, black-eyed peas, cabbage, tomatoes cucumbers, watermelons, pumpkins, muskmelons, cantelopes, beets, radishes, and carrots.

*Lima beans* may be raised abundantly, at any time during the year. In consequence of the absence of frost, the vines live and bear for several years; and as the beans are being continually reproduced, they may be gathered from the same vines, during every month in the year, and for three, four, five, or more, successive years. The vines yield in a few months after the planting of the bean; so that, no family ought ever to be without this excellent vegetable. They are equal to those raised in any part of the United States.

*Black-eyed peas* may be raised in any necessary quantities. They come to maturity in about six weeks from the time of

Cabbages—Tomatoes—Cucumbers—Watermelons, &c.—Oranges—Limes and Pine-apples.

planting ; and they may be raised at any time during the year.

*Cabbages* do not thrive so well in Liberia as they generally do in the United States—that is, they do not produce so fine heads. They grow very rapidly ; and sometimes the stalk attains the height of several feet. They do not go to seed. When, however, good seed can be procured from other countries, and proper attention is given to the cultivation of the cabbage, fine, large, tender heads may sometimes be produced. I have occasionally eaten as good cabbage in Liberia, as I ever ate in the Old Dominion.

*Tomatoes* may be easily raised ; and when the seed are procured from abroad, the fruit is large and well flavored—equal to the produce of most other countries.

*Cucumbers* will perhaps thrive as well in Liberia, as in most other countries. I have seen as fine cucumbers there as I ever saw in any part of the United States. A sandy soil seems to be best adapted for them.

*Watermelons* thrive as well in some parts of Liberia, as in most parts of the United States ; especially when good seed can be procured from abroad. Some as fine watermelons as I ever saw were raised in the vicinity of Monrovia. So far as I could learn, the best time to plant the seed is in March or April.

All the other articles which I have enumerated, and several other garden vegetables, which seem to belong more properly to temperate climates, may be raised in Liberia without much difficulty, if the seed can be obtained from those countries, to which these vegetables seem to be peculiarly adapted. Several of these vegetables do not go to seed at all in Liberia ; consequently, they cannot be reproduced. And I believe all the rest which belong more properly to temperate climates, soon degenerate so much in quality, as to become unfit for use. Hence, the necessity of importing seeds, if persons wish to have

American vegetables on African tables.—And here I would particularly recommend to persons, who intend to emigrate to Liberia, to take with them a variety of garden seeds. And, in order to protect them from being injured by the salt air of the ocean, I would advise that they should be sealed up in vials or bottles ; or wrapped in paper, and packed away in saw dust.

A great variety of *fruits* is raised in Liberia ; many of which are indigenous. The principal fruits are, the orange, lime, lemon, pine-apple, guava, mango, plantain, banana, okra, papaw, cocoanut, tamarind, pomegranate, granadilla, African cherry, African peach, soursop, sweetsop, sorrel, cocoa, rose-apple, and chiota.

The *Orange* tree thrives as well perhaps, and bears as fine fruit in Liberia as in any other part of the world. The tree, when full-grown, is about the size of ordinary apple trees in the United States ; but much more handsome. One tree usually bears as many oranges, as an apple tree of the same size bears apples. Although ripe oranges may be procured at any time of the year ; yet, there are two seasons, at which they are more plentiful, than at other times. One season is about the middle of the year, and the other about the close of the year. It is not uncommon to see blossoms, buds, young fruit, and full-grown fruit, on the same tree, at the same time ; so that while some of the oranges are ripening, others are being produced.—In the town of Monrovia, many orange trees may be seen adorning the sides of the streets, as well as in the yards and gardens of the citizens.

*Limes* and *lemons* are in superabundance, in nearly every settlement in Liberia.

*Pine-apples* grow wild in the woods, in great abundance ; and when allowed to ripen, before being pulled, they are very finely flavored. The apple grows out of the centre of a small stalk, one or two feet high, and it is surrounded by prickly, pointed leaves or branches. I

## Guavas—Mango—Plantain and Banana.

have seen thousands of them, in half an hour's walk. They are considerably improved by cultivation in good, rich land. They are not, however, a wholesome fruit, although very palatable; and many persons have made themselves sick by eating them too freely.

*Guavas* grow very abundantly, on trees about the size of ordinary peach trees. This fruit resembles the apricot in appearance, but not in taste. It is not very palatable, when uncooked; though some persons are very fond of it. It, however, makes the best preserves, and the best pies, of any fruit with which I am acquainted. The *guava jelly*, which is almost universally regarded as a very delicious article, is made from this fruit. Though I believe the *guava tree* is not indigenous to Liberia; yet it grows so luxuriantly, as to become a source of much inconvenience, in some places.

The *Mango* (or mango-plum, as it is usually called in Liberia) also thrives well. It is the product of a handsome tree, about the size of an ordinary apple-tree. The fruit is about the size of an ordinary apple, but oval, or egg-shaped. In taste, it approaches more nearly to the American peach, than any other tropical fruit I ever ate; and I regard it as the best fruit which is raised in Liberia. The mango makes very superior preserves.

The *Plantain* is a beautiful, broad-leaved, tender, fibrous stalk, which grows to the height of from eight to fourteen feet. The leaves, which are the continuation of the fibrous layers of the soft, herbaceous stalk, are generally about six feet long, and from one to three feet broad. The fruit-stem proceeds from the heart of the stalk; and, when full-grown, it is about three feet long, and beautifully curved, extending about two feet beyond the cluster of fruit, and terminating in a singular and beautiful purple bulb, formed of numerous tender layers, which can be easily separated. One stalk produces only one cluster

or bunch of fruit; and, when this is removed, by cutting the stem, the stalk dies; but cions spring up from the original root, around the old stalk; and in a few months, these also bear fruit; and then die, giving place to other new stalks. So that, in two or three years from the time of the first planting, the number of stalks and bunches of fruit will be increased six-fold, or more. The venerable parent-stalk, as if loth to leave her rising progeny unsheltered from the sweeping tornado, generally continues to spread her broad leaves over them, until they shall have attained a sufficient size to stand firmly before the destroying blast of the storm-king; and then one by one, the expansive leaves or branches wither, and fall to the ground, leaving the aged, worn-out stalk to be prostrated by the passing breeze. The fruit of the plantain is cylindrical and slightly curved, somewhat tapering towards the end. It is usually from six to nine inches long, and about one inch in diameter. At first, it is of a pale green color; but, when fully ripe, it is yellow. It arrives at maturity in about eight months. Most persons in Liberia cut the bunches before the fruit has ripened; but, it is much better, when it is allowed to ripen before being separated from the stalk. It is usually prepared for the table, by being boiled, baked, or fried; and it is perhaps the most luscious and wholesome vegetable of tropical climates, and one of the most valuable fruits in the vegetable kingdom. It may be produced at any time in the year; and, with a little judicious management, every family may have this excellent and nutritious article, every day in the year.

The *Banana* is so much like the plantain, in every respect, except in the taste, and a slight difference in the appearance of the fruit, that the description of one will answer for both. Indeed, it is difficult to distinguish one from the other, when they are growing. The fruit of the banana is only about half the length of the plantain; and

## Okra—Papaw—Cocoanut—Tamarind—Pomegranite and African Cherry.

is not so much curved. It is also much softer, when ripe, and is more frequently eaten uncooked; although it may be prepared in the same manner as the plantain. The taste of the plantain very much resembles the taste of apples cooked in the same way; while that of the banana is *sui generis*—unlike any fruit of the United States. The plantain and banana trees are among the most beautiful vegetable growths of tropical climates.

*Okra* is the fruit of a small tree, ten or twelve feet high. It is a soft, pulpy, and very mucilagenous fruit; which, when boiled, forms a thick, semi-fluid, pleasant, and nutritious article of food—an excellent adjuvant to rice. It may be raised easily and abundantly in Liberia.

The *Papaw* is a tall, slender, herbaceous tree, of very rapid growth, sometimes attaining the height of thirty feet. The body of the tree is usually naked to within two or three feet of the top, and is marked with the cicatrices of the fallen leaves, which wither and fall as the tree continues to grow, giving place to others above them. Sometimes, however, there are several branches attached to the upper part of the body of the tree; each of which branches produces a cluster of fruit. The leaves are very large, have long footstalks, and are divided into numerous lobes.—The fruit is nearly round, of a pale-green color, becoming yellowish as it ripens, and is about the size of the head of a very young infant. One variety of the papaw, however, bears fruit of an elongated shape somewhat like a pear; but considerably larger than the other variety. The fruit of the papaw has a sweetish taste. It is very soft; and, when fully ripe, and stewed, it resembles in both appearance and taste the best pumpkins of the United States;—when it is stewed, before it has ripened, and is made into pie, it so much resembles the green-apple pie, in taste as well as appearance, that the most fastidious epicure

might be deceived by it; if he did not stop to think that apples do not grow in Liberia.

The *Cocoanut* is perhaps the most beautiful tree of tropical climates. It has long, curved leaves or branches; which hang gracefully from the upper part of the body, which rises sometimes to the height of thirty feet, or more. The fruit grows in clusters near the base of the stalks of the leaves. The cocoanut tree is seldom raised in Liberia, except as an ornament. A few of these stately and beautiful trees may be seen in some of the settlements. From having seen it growing in an obscure place, I presume the cocoanut tree is indigenous in Liberia.

The *Tamarind* is a large, spreading tree, having very small, deep-green leaves.—The fruit grows in elongated pods, similar to the butter-bean. Although the tamarind is indigenous, and thrives as well perhaps in Liberia, as in any other part of the world; yet the people do not give any attention to the gathering of the fruit, except for their own use; and, indeed, very few seem to care any thing about it. I think, however, it may be made a profitable article of exportation.

The *Pomegranite* is a dense, spiny shrub, ten or twelve feet high. It produces beautiful brilliant large red flowers; and the fruit is about the size of a large apple, and covered with a thick coriaceous rind. It is filled with a multitude of small seeds; and the pulp is slightly acid and astringent. This fruit is seldom cultivated in Liberia; although I presume it will thrive as well as in most other parts of the world.

The *African cherry* (so called in Liberia) is a very peculiar fruit. It is about the size of the ordinary morrello-cherry of the United States; but, in taste, it more resembles the cranberry. The tree is usually about fifteen feet high. The great peculiarity in the growth of this fruit, consists in the manner in which the short stems are attached to the tree—not to the twigs of the branches, but to the body and larger

African Peach—Sour-sop—Sweet-sop, &c.—Productions continued—Coffee.

limbs of the tree; the stems of the fruit being about one-third of an inch long.—This fruit makes very fine tarts—equal to the cranberry.

The *African peach*, of which there are three varieties, is a large, round, acid fruit—one variety being about twice the size of the largest peaches in the United States. These trees, some of which are very large, grow abundantly in the forests of Liberia. The fruit is used only for making preserves; which, when properly made, are surpassed only by the guava.

The *Sour-sop* is a large, pulpy, acidulous fruit, which grows on a tree about the size of an ordinary apple-tree. The fruit is nearly pear-shaped, and is about as large as an ordinary cantelope. It is covered with a thick, knotty rind. When perfectly ripe, it is a very pleasant fruit; especially when a little sugar is sprinkled over the pulp. It is also very good, when fried in slices; in which state it somewhat resembles in taste fried sour apples.

The *Sweet-sop* is a fruit somewhat similar to the *sour-sop*; but not so acidulous, nor so pleasant to the taste. It is seldom used.

The *Cocoa*, from which chocolate is produced, though not yet extensively cultivated, thrives well in Liberia.

The *Rose-apple* is a small round fruit, which takes its name from the delightful fragrance which it has. It is not very palatable, however; and it is seldom eaten.

The *Granadilla* is a large fruit which grows on a vine. It is about as large as a moderate sized cantelope. No part of the fruit is eaten, except the seeds and the mucilaginous substance by which they are surrounded. These are loosely confined in the centre of the fruit. The taste of this mucilage resembles the American strawberry more than any other fruit with which I am acquainted.

The *Sorrel* is a large shrub, having deep red blossoms; which are often used for making tarts. It grows freely in Liberia,

and it is a very handsome ornament to a yard or garden.

The *Chiota* is the fruit of a vine. It is about as large as an ordinary pear. When properly prepared, by stewing, it affords a wholesome, palatable, and nutritious article of food; and it may be easily raised in Liberia.

The celebrated bread fruit, of the island of Tahiti, which was introduced into the British West-India Islands, by order of the government, will grow well in Liberia. But, as there are so many other articles of a somewhat similar kind, which are preferable to it, it is seldom used.

I have seen several other indigenous fruits in Liberia; some of which are very palatable; some very fragrant, but not very acceptable to the palate; and others not possessing any good qualities to recommend them. And there are many other kinds of fruits, peculiar to tropical climates, which, no doubt, would thrive well in Liberia; but which have not yet been introduced. I have alluded to those only which I have seen growing there, and of which I have eaten.

#### SKETCH—No. 5

PRODUCTIONS—Continued.—In addition to the vegetable productions of Liberia, to which I have alluded, there are some others which are worthy of particular notice; especially as they are the principal exportable articles, some of which may be rendered very profitable articles of commerce. These are, Coffee, Ginger, Pepper, Sugar, Ground-nuts, Indigo, Cotton, and Arrow-root.

In reference to *Coffee*, I am quite satisfied that the soil and climate of Liberia are as well adapted to the cultivation of this article, as the soil and climate of any other part of the world. I believe that as good coffee can be raised in Liberia as in Mocha or Java; and I have no doubt that, by proper attention, it may be raised as plentifully as in any other part of the world. These

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 Estimates of the quantity and value of coffee.
 

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opinions are not hastily formed, but are founded on personal observations in some of the West India Islands, as well as in Liberia, and on frequent conversations with persons who have visited various other parts of the world in which coffee is cultivated. I have frequently seen isolated trees growing in different parts of Liberia, which have yielded from ten to twenty pounds of clean dry coffee at one picking; and, however incredible it may appear, it is a fact, that one tree in Monrovia yielded four and a half bushels of coffee, in the hull, at one time; which, on being shelled and dried, weighed *thirty-one pounds*. This is the largest quantity of which I ever heard, as having been gathered from one tree; and it is the largest coffee tree I ever saw, being upwards of twenty feet high, and of proportionate dimensions.

I have given particular attention to observations and investigations, respecting the cultivation of coffee in Liberia; and, I think I may safely set down the average quantity which may be raised, by proper cultivation, at four pounds to each tree—that is, each tree of six years old and upwards. The coffee tree will begin to bear in three years from the time at which the seeds are planted. At the end of the fourth year, the average quantity may be set down at one pound to each tree; at the end of the fifth year, two and a half pounds; and, at the end of the sixth year, four pounds. About three hundred trees can be planted in one acre of ground, allowing the trees to be twelve feet apart. Therefore, in four years from the time the seeds are planted in the nursery, 300 pounds of coffee may be gathered, which, at ten cents a pound, (a very moderate rate for Liberia coffee, which has frequently been sold for twenty cents a pound in this country,) would be worth \$30. At the end of the fifth year, 750

pounds may be gathered—worth \$75; and at the end of the sixth year, 1,200 pounds—worth \$120. So that, in six years from the time of the planting of the seeds, agreeably to this calculation, 2,250 pounds of coffee may be produced on one acre of ground—worth \$225. And, accordingly, ten acres, properly cultivated, will yield during the first six years, an income of \$2,250; and at least \$1,200 during each succeeding year.

This calculation I regard as pretty nearly correct; but even admitting that I have set down the quantities and the value at one fourth more than they should be, it will still appear, that the cultivation of coffee may be rendered a source of wealth in Liberia, even supposing that nothing else could be raised for exportation, which is by no means the case. I am quite satisfied that at least \$100 a year may be realized, by proper management, from the produce of one acre of ground cultivated in coffee, after the sixth year from the time of planting of the grains in the nursery. And, as it does not require much labor, one person may easily cultivate three acres, with a little hired assistance in clearing the land, and may devote one half of his time, or more, to the cultivation of other articles, for the use of himself and family, and for sale; and he need not work more than five or six hours a day. So that, by industry, prudence, and economy, any man may realize at least \$300 a year for his labor, over and above the necessary expenditures of himself and family; the other articles which he may raise being quite sufficient for the comfortable support of his household. I am aware that the truthfulness of this statement has seldom been exhibited in the agricultural operations of the citizens of Liberia; but this fact does not necessarily confute the truth of the statement, nor does



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 Method of raising coffee—Ginger—Pepper.
 

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st sufficiently exhibit the impracticability of its being fully and easily carried out. And I might add, that it does not require the exercise of profound wisdom, even in a cursory observer, to discover the real cause why the feasibility of the result of the foregoing calculation is not more frequently exhibited.

Coffee is indigenous in Liberia. It may frequently be seen wild in the woods. It is, however, much improved by cultivation. The most approved method of raising it, is to plant the grains in a nursery, and to transplant when the tree has attained the height of a foot and a half. Some trees arrive at their full growth in five or six years; while others continue to grow more than double that length of time. The grains grow in pairs, covered with a hull, from which they can be easily separated when dry. The coffee blossom is a beautiful and highly fragrant little white flower, and the berry, when fully ripe, is of a pale red color. The average height of full grown trees is about eight feet. They continue to bear from ten to twenty years. I have seen some fine flourishing trees, which were upwards of twenty years old. As the coffee tree is easily cultivated, and as the fruit is easily cured, the cultivation of this profitable and useful article should occupy a portion of the time of every family in Liberia.

Next to coffee, perhaps *Ginger* may be made the most profitable article of culture, for exportation. The superior quality of this article, and the peculiar adaptation of almost every kind of soil in Liberia, to its abundant growth, justifies the opinion that it may be rendered a very profitable article of commerce. It will certainly grow as well in Liberia as in any other part of the world; and, in quality, it is scarcely inferior to the best that is produced in any other country. I have no certain data from which I can determine the average quantity

of ginger which may be raised on a given quantity of land; but, from what I have seen, I am quite satisfied that it may be raised in great abundance, with very little labor. The average increase is at least twenty-fold, when properly cultivated. From six to eight months is the time usually required for its growth and maturation.

*Bird pepper*, which is known in the United States as "African Cayenne Pepper," is an indigenous article, which may be found almost every where throughout Liberia. I have frequently seen great quantities of it growing wild in the woods. And if a little attention were given to the cultivation of it, thousands of pounds might be annually exported. It grows on bushes about four feet high. The pods are generally about half an inch long, and one third of an inch in circumference. One species, however, is four or five times this size. The smaller kind is generally preferred. In quality, it is perhaps not equalled by that raised in any other country. The cultivation of it requires scarcely any attention; and the only preparation of it for the market, consists in picking the pods and spreading them out to dry. The shrub grows very rapidly, and the fruit arrives at maturity in six or eight months from the time of planting. It yields more abundantly about the beginning of the year, but as the fruit continues to be reproduced throughout the year, it may be collected at any time. The natives use it very freely. It is not uncommon to see them with a bunch of pepper in one hand and a roasted cassada in the other, taking, with each bite of the latter, one of the pods of the former, one of which pods would serve to pepper a full meal for a person not so accustomed to its use. Perhaps the reader of this may wonder why pepper is not more freely gathered and exported, as it grows so abundantly in the wild state, and as it may be so very

## Sugar-cane—Ground-nuts—Indigo—Cotton.

easily cultivated. To this I can only respond, echo answers, why?

*Sugar-cane* will, perhaps, thrive as well in Liberia, as in any other country. I have seen stalks more than fifteen feet high, and two or three inches in diameter. The average size of the stalks is considerably larger than those which are raised in the island of Barbadoes, and the juice is equally sweet, and proportionably more abundant. This I have tested, by personal observations. Sugar, however, probably will not soon become a profitable article of exportation, in consequence of the inability of the Liberians to compete with the West India planters. Liberia, however, may be, and it ought to be, independent of all the rest of the world, for this luxury. Every farmer ought to raise, not only enough of this article for the use of his own family, but some to dispose of to his mercantile, mechanical, and professional neighbors. And, even if he cannot conveniently manufacture the sugar, in any considerable quantity, he can certainly express enough of the juice in a few hours, with his own hands, in a mill of his own construction, to make several gallons of *syrup*, (not molasses but a much better article,) which answers very well for every practical or necessary purpose.

*Ground-nuts*, or pea-nuts, may be raised in great abundance, in Liberia. And, as these nuts generally find a ready market in the United States, and in Europe; they certainly will richly repay the Liberian farmer for the little trouble and labor which their cultivation requires. I do not know what quantity may be raised on a given portion of land, but I do know that they yield very abundantly.

Although the cultivation of *Indigo* has not met with much attention in Liberia—comparatively few persons having given any attention at all to it—yet, as the indigo

plant grows so luxuriantly, and may be raised so easily, the manufacture of indigo is certainly worthy of particular notice. The plant grows so abundantly in Liberia, that it constitutes one of the most troublesome weeds in the gardens, and even in the streets of the settlements. And, with a little skill and industry, in preparing the indigo, it may be rendered one of the most profitable crops that can be produced in tropical climates. The plant arrives at maturity in three or four months from the time of planting the seed, and as it springs up again, in a few weeks after having been cut, one crop will yield five or six cuttings in the course of the year. Several varieties of the indigo plant may be found growing wild in Liberia, all of which yield very fine indigo, some of which is perhaps equal to that produced in any other part of the world. The preparation of indigo requires a little more patience and industry, than the Liberians generally are in the habit of bestowing on any one article of agriculture; which is the principal cause why it has not been more extensively manufactured.

*Cotton* has not yet been cultivated to a sufficient extent, to enable me to determine from observation, whether it may be made a very profitable article of agriculture. Several old cotton planters, who had grown grey in raising cotton in Georgia, Mississippi, and other Southern States, before they went to Liberia, have repeatedly told me, that the cotton-tree or shrub will grow as well, and yield as abundantly in Liberia, as in any part of the United States. As I have never seen the cotton-tree growing in the United States, I cannot institute a comparison, from my own observations. But I have seen some fine trees growing in Liberia, and yielding cotton equal in quality to the best I ever saw from the valley of the Mississippi. The natives in the interior

Arrow-root—method of preparing it—quantity that may be raised.

manufacture cotton goods pretty extensively from one species of the indigenous growth. There are several species or varieties of cotton in Liberia. The best grows on trees or shrubs ten or twelve feet high—similar to those raised in the United States, but perhaps larger in the average size. And, as the trees are not injured by frosts, of course they continue to bear for several years. One species grows on trees of immense dimensions—some of them being more than twenty feet in circumference. The cotton, however, which is produced by those large trees, is very different from that raised on the small trees. It has a yellowish cast; and it is more like raw silk in appearance and texture; but, as it has very little staple, it is seldom gathered for any purpose.

*Arrow-root* probably thrives as well in Liberia, as in any other part of the world. This is a tender plant, which usually grows to the height of two or three feet. The stems, of which several rise from the same root, are round, branched, jointed, and leafy. The leaves resemble the common sword-grass. They are alternate; and are from three to six inches in length. The root, which is the only part used, is beautifully cylindrical, straight, and tapering, (hence the name of the plant,) fleshy, scaly, and furnished with numerous long, white fibres; and is usually from three to eight inches in length. This plant is one of the most luxurious growths in Liberia. It is easily propagated, and it arrives at maturity in about five months. In preparing it for use, the roots are washed, and then beat into a pulp, which is thrown into a tub of water, and agitated, so as to separate the fibres from the amylaceous part; the latter of which remains suspended in the water, while the former is removed. The milky fluid, thus formed, is strained, and allowed

to stand several hours, until the fecula, or starch, shall have settled at the bottom of the vessel. It is then washed with a fresh portion of water, strained again, and allowed to subside again; this process sometimes being performed three or four times; after which, it is spread out, and dried in the sun. About eight pounds of the pure powder or flour may be procured from a bushel of the roots.

As arrow-root may be produced so abundantly in Liberia; and as it is one of the most important exportable articles; as well as one of the most valuable articles of food; it deserves particular notice. The cultivation of the plant requires so little labor or attention, and the process of manufacturing the fecula from the roots is so very simple and so easily performed that I am quite certain this article may be rendered a source of wealth by exportation. From having frequently seen it growing, and having seen the quantity which a very small piece of ground produced, I think the average quantity which may be raised on almost every kind of soil in Liberia, may be safely and truly set down at one hundred bushels to the acre; that is, eight hundred pounds of pure manufactured arrow-root, or fecula. An old gentleman at Monrovia, who has raised a considerable quantity of it, stated to me, that, from the quantity which he has made from a certain portion of land, he was quite satisfied that one acre, properly cultivated, will yield two thousand pounds. And a farmer at Caldwell assured me that he made one hundred and thirty pounds from the produce of one-sixteenth of an acre of ground. But, as it will be perceived, I have placed the average quantity at less than one-half of the proportionate quantity which has actually been raised; and this, I think, is not beyond a fair estimate. Assuming

## Arrow-root—a substitute for flour—Productions continued.

therefore, that one-half an acre will produce four hundred pounds, (a quantity which almost any family may easily raise and manufacture,) and allowing the average net price to be only fifteen cents a pound; it will appear that \$60 may be realized from this small quantity of land; with comparatively little labor.

During the last year or two arrow-root has been used pretty extensively in Liberia, as a substitute for wheat-flour; and, as I have frequently eaten it, in various forms of bread, I hesitate not to say, that I believe it to be not only a good substitute for flour, but much more suitable and wholesome for persons residing in tropical climates. It makes very fine biscuits, either alone or when mixed with a small quantity of sweet potatoes. It also makes very good pie-crust; and I have seen light or leavened bread, made of arrow-root, which so much resembled wheat-flour bread, in both appearance and taste, as to deceive professed judges. Besides these, I have eaten the nicest kind of pound and other sweet cakes, made of this article, instead of flour, with the ordinary adjvants. And I beg leave to say, that I regard myself as a tolerably good judge of good eating.

The foregoing named articles constitute the principal exportable articles of agriculture, which may be raised in Liberia. And I have endeavored to give faithful and truthful statements, in reference to each of them. And, while I regret that greater attention has not yet been given to the cultivation of these articles; I cherish the hope that the period will arrive, at which all of them will be cultivated extensively; if not by the present inhabitants, by others who may emigrate thither, having more energy, industry, and perseverance. I candidly believe, that a man may acquire more wealth in Liberia, by judicious manage-

ment in the cultivation of the soil, than he could acquire in any part of the United States, with double the quantity of land, double the amount of labor, and in double the length of time; even allowing for all the disadvantages under which he may have to labor in Liberia, and all the facilities which he might have in the United States. I am quite certain that by pursuing a regular, systematic and persevering course of agricultural industry and frugality, the citizens of Liberia may, with no other means than those which every individual can readily procure, produce not only enough of those articles which are peculiar to tropical climates, for their own use, but a large surplus, for exportation. And, any man in Liberia, who enjoys a tolerable degree of health, and who does not live comfortably and independently, may, without any violation of the principles of truth or justice, charge the deficiency to his own account.

## SKETCH—No. 6.

PRODUCTIONS—*Continued.*—One of the most important and valuable indigenous articles of the vegetable kingdom in inter-tropical Africa, is the *Palm*; which is one of the most remarkable and useful trees in the world. There are two or three species of the palm in Liberia; one of which, by its towering height and graceful appearance, attracts particular attention. The tree which yields the nuts from which oil is extracted, seldom grows to the height of more than twenty-five feet. It resembles the cocoanut tree, having, like that, long leaves or branches, which are attached to the upper part of the body of the tree, and which hang in graceful curves. The fruit grows in clusters or branches, near the base of the stalks of the leaves. The nut is oval, about an inch long; and, when ripe is of a deep red color. The oil is extracted from the pulp

Palm—Camwood—Palma-cristi, &c.—Animals—Elephants—Leopards.

of the nut, which yields very abundantly. It is manufactured by the natives; and several hundred thousand gallons are annually exported from Liberia. Palm trees may be seen in every part of Liberia, adorning the hills and valleys; and furnishing not only great quantities of oil for exportation, as well as for domestic uses, but yielding a variety of other useful substances;—a peculiar beverage called “palm wine,” which is procured by tapping the tree, and which in taste very much resembles wine-whey; also a substance which grows at the top of the tree, called “palm-cabbage”; and which, when boiled, has an agreeable taste;—and from the fibres of the leaves, the natives get materials for making baskets, hats, &c. Palm oil is extensively used by the Liberians as a substitute for sperm oil and candles; and also in culinary operations, as a substitute for lard and butter. And, for all needful purposes, to which those articles are applied, it answers very well. The average price of palm oil in Liberia is about thirty-three cents a gallon.

Another valuable tree, which is indigenous and peculiar to intertropical Africa, is the *Cam wood*; which grows abundantly in the forests, about a hundred miles from the coast. This is one of the most valuable dye-woods in the world; and hundreds of tons are annually exported from Liberia.

The *Palma-cristi*, the seeds of which yield *castor oil*, is also indigenous in Liberia; and I have no doubt that the regular cultivation of this valuable shrub would richly repay the laborer for the little trouble which it would require.

The tree which yields the medicinal balsam, called *Copaiva*, may also be seen occasionally growing wild in the forests of Liberia; and I doubt not that the juice might be collected in sufficient quantities, to become a valuable article of exportation.

Several species of the *Acacia* (Gum Arabic tree) grow in Liberia; and some of the gum is of superior quality.

I have seen some specimens of *Olibanum*, (Frankincense,) which, as the natives informed me, were collected from large trees which grow abundantly in the forest.

I have frequently seen the *Caoutchouc* or Gum-elastic tree growing in Liberia; some of which are forty-feet, or more, in height.

The forests of Liberia also furnish many different kinds of valuable timber, well suited for ship or boat building, cabinet work, and all the various operations in carpentry; the principal of which are Wistmore, Brimstone, Rose-wood, Mulberry, Bastard Mahogany, Saffron, Mangrove, African Oak, Hickory, Poplar, Persimmon and Sassa-wood. Some of these make very beautiful cabinet work.

A considerable variety of medicinal plants, besides those to which I have alluded, may be found in Liberia; among which is the *Croton Tiglium*, a small tree or shrub, with spreading branches, yielding a capsular fruit, from the seeds of which the Croton oil is extracted.

**ANIMALS.**—The principal *wild animals* which infest the forests or rivers of Liberia, are the Elephant, Leopard, Hippopotamus, Crocodile, Porcupine, Wild Hog, Boa Constrictor, several species of the Deer, and several species of the Ape.

*Elephants* are quite numerous about a hundred miles back in the interior; and the natives make a regular business of hunting and killing them, for the *ivory* of which their tusks are composed. These animals were formerly frequently seen in the vicinity of some of the settlements; but they are now seldom seen within fifty miles of the sea-coast.

*Leopards* are occasionally seen prowling

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 Hippopotami—Crocodiles—Deer—Monkeys, &c.—Ants—Drivers.
 

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about the outskirts of some of the settlements; and they sometimes carry away small domesticated animals at night. But they are much less numerous and troublesome, than formerly. They never attack a person, except after having been wounded.

*Hippopotami* are occasionally seen on the banks of the river, some of them of immense size—weighing a thousand pounds or more. They are sometimes killed by the natives. They are harmless animals; and they always endeavor to escape, when interrupted, by plunging into the water.

*Crocodiles* (erroneously called Alligators) are frequently seen basking in the sunshine on the banks of the rivers, or on the little rocky islands. They always make their escape into the water, when approached by a person on shore, or in a boat or canoe.

*Boa Constrictors* are sometimes killed in the forests in Liberia. The largest I ever saw was fifteen feet long, and fifteen inches in circumference. Much larger ones have been killed. I never heard of their attacking an individual. Serpents, however, are much less numerous in Liberia than is generally supposed; and poisonous snakes are perhaps less common than in many parts of the United States.

*Deer* are very numerous; and they afford excellent venison.

*Monkeys* are found in great numbers in the forests. I have seen a dozen, or more, at one time, jumping from tree to tree, with great dexterity. Several species of the ape tribe are occasionally caught by the natives; among which is the *Chimpanzee*, so remarkable for its near approximation in appearance to the human race. Some of these "wild men of the woods" have been seen as large as an ordinary sized man. The largest that I ever saw was about the size of a child two or three years old. The old ones are never caught, and are seldom kil-

led. They are very powerful, as well as very active.

Besides these, the *Guana*, the *Ichnumon*, the *Sloth*, the beautiful and ever-changing *Chameleon*, many varieties of *Lizards*, and several species of *Ants* may frequently be seen.

One variety or species of ants is very remarkable, in consequence of the immense conical mounds of earth which they rear, and in which they make their nests. These mounds are sometimes ten or twelve feet high, and eight or ten feet in diameter at the base. These ants are about the size of the large black ant in the United States. The *queen*, however, is much larger—some of them two inches in length and nearly two inches in circumference. In the interior of the mounds, about half-way from the bottom, is a large vaulted chamber, the floor of which is very hard and smooth. In the centre of the floor is the nest, in the inmost recess of which, lives the queen in luxurious ease, accompanied by the king, whose size does not vary much from the ordinary ant; but who is easily recognized by a striking difference in physical conformation. Whenever the queen dies, or is captured, all the ants desert the hill; which is left to "crumble into dust again." Many of these deserted mounds may be seen in almost every part of Liberia.

Another species of ants (familiarily known by the name of *Drivers*) is still more remarkable. They are about the size of the black ant of America—that is, about one fourth to one half of an inch in length. They may frequently be seen marching along, in the most systematic order, and regularity of movement. They move in a solid compact column of great length; and they appear to be under the direction of able leaders and rigid disciplinarians. No common obstacle turns them out of their

## Domesticated animals—Beeves—Cows—Sheep—Goats, &amp;c.

course; and whosoever is so unfortunate as to come in their line of march, will have to pay for his temerity; and will be reminded to be more careful in future. Hundreds seize fiercely on the intruding foot; and the unwary object of their vengeance is compelled to retreat from the scene of attack. These tiny warriors are very troublesome; but they are exceedingly useful in expelling noxious vermin from every place into which they may enter in the course of their perambulations. Whenever a battalion of drivers enters a dwelling house, the inmates are obliged, for the time, to yield undisputed possession, at least of that part of the house which the little warriors may be searching. They are not, however, always unwelcome visitors; for they never fail to expel rats, mice, and every species of vermin; making a clean sweep as they go. Whenever they come to a small water-course, the larger and stronger ones dexterously form themselves into an arch, by clinging to each other; thus making a bridge, over which the smaller ones pass dry shod. Even in their ordinary march over level ground, they seem to cling to each other in a solid phalanx; the stronger ones occupying the flanks, and arching themselves over the weaker ones, who occupy the centre, and who are thus protected by the others.

All kinds of animals, both large and small, are afraid of drivers; nor have they any regard to size, in the objects of their warfare. They are very useful in chasing away or killing snakes, lizards, scorpions, centipedes, &c., which, were it not for the drivers, would be exceedingly troublesome, and even dangerous. Whenever they visit a house, they search it all over, and expel every living, moving thing, that they find; after which, they retire peaceably, and yield possession to the former occupants.

They make their nests beneath the surface of the ground; and I presume they sally forth from their quarters only in search of food; at which times, the line of march is sometimes a hundred yards, or more, in length.

The principal *domesticated animals* in Liberia, are Bullocks or Beeves, Cows, Sheep, Goats, Swine, Geese, Turkeys, Ducks, and Chickens.

*Beeves* are frequently brought into the settlements for sale by the natives, and they are sometimes raised by the citizens. They may be raised easily in any desirable quantity.

*Cows* are numerous, but they do not give much milk. Some of the cows which are brought from the interior, one or two hundred miles from the coast, are as large as ordinary cows in the United States; but they do not give half so much milk. If properly attended to, however, I think they would afford milk much more plentifully.

*Sheep* and *goats* can be very easily raised in Liberia—as easily, perhaps, as in any other part of the world; and they both afford good wholesome animal food. The sheep are covered with hair instead of wool. The goats furnish very good milk.

*Swine* do not thrive so well in Liberia as in some parts of the United States; but they can be raised in sufficient abundance for the wants of the people.

*Geese* and *Ducks* may be raised without any more difficulty than in the United States; and within a few years past *Turkeys* have become much more plentiful than they formerly were.

Perhaps in no other part of the world can *Chickens* be raised more easily and more plentifully, than in Liberia. With very little trouble, every family may always have a sufficient supply of chickens.

## Horses—Diseases—Acclimating fever.

*Horses* are plentiful in the interior, within three hundred miles of the coast, but they do not thrive well in the settlements; perhaps in consequence principally of the want of proper management. They are occasionally brought down by the natives, and some of them are very beautiful. They are small—seldom more than twelve hands high. I am quite satisfied that they never can be used to much advantage, as draft animals, in the present settlements of Liberia. But for all necessary purposes, the native oxen can be used as a substitute for horses. I have seen some of the small bullocks broken to the yoke, and working steadily and effectually. The Liberians, however, have not yet given much attention to the breaking and working of oxen—by no means as much as they ought to give. I trust that the time may not be distant, when the plough and the cart will be much more extensively used, than at present.

**SKETCH—No. 7.**

**DISEASES.**—The physical system of every individual who removes from a temperate to a tropical climate must undergo some change—must experience some process of acclimation; which may, or may not be attended with much fever, according to circumstances—to the constitutional peculiarities of the individual, the nature of the surrounding country, the previous habits of life, the situation at the time with respect to regimen, comforts, &c.; and by no means the least, the state of the mind with respect to calmness and patience, or irritability and disquietude; together with other imaginable circumstances. So that the developments of fever are exceedingly various, requiring various methods of treatment—each method to be adapted to the individual case, as circumstances may require. Hence, the impossibility of furnishing an exact or complete treatise on the

subject—of setting down any characteristic marks of the *Acclimating Fever*, or of adopting any particular mode of treatment.

Instead of pursuing a systematic course of treatment in all the cases which came under my observation, I was obliged to lay aside all plans, and to modify my treatment in such a manner as necessarily to discountenance, to a considerable extent, all the labored theories of medical writers, relative to the diseases of tropical climates. The leading object which I always had in view in the treatment of this and all other diseases, and which I regard as of the greatest importance, was, to preserve the natural strength of the patient, as much as possible—to avoid the too free use of any means by which the system might be greatly or unnecessarily debilitated. Consequently, I seldom used very active purgatives, and scarcely ever resorted to the lancet; and consequently, I used very little wine, brandy, or any other kind of stimulant, to bring the patient up after he had been brought down by debilitating treatment. And, not unfrequently, my patients were able to walk about within a few days, after having experienced what at first was regarded as an unusually violent attack. The rapid convalescence of some of them was indeed astonishing to myself.

Some persons, in passing through the physical change, or process of acclimation, have so little fever that they do not require medical treatment at all. And I have no doubt that many persons might pass safely through the acclimating process without taking a grain of medicine, if they could or would exercise the necessary precautions in the preservation of health; such as proper attention to their habits, diet and clothing, to the extent of exposure to the heat of the day, as well as to the damp and chilling



## Character of the acclimating fever.

night-air, and especially to the avoidance of all sources of mental inquietude.

In some cases, the physical system becomes sufficiently adapted to the climate to resist the surrounding deleterious influences, in two or three months. In other cases, a year or more elapses before this desirable point is reached. And in some cases, the physical system and the climate seem to be at variance for several years.

In the course of my observations in the treatment of the acclimating fever, I frequently noticed that persons who had previously suffered from local inflammatory affections were extremely liable to have a recurrence of some or all of the symptoms of the old disorder, in consequence of the previously inflamed organ or tissue being the "weak point" in the system. And in some cases, persons who might have enjoyed tolerable health in the United States die very soon after their arrival in Liberia, in consequence of the physical system not being sufficiently vigorous to undergo the necessary change, in order to become adapted to the climate. Hence the impropriety of persons emigrating to Liberia whose constitutions have become much impaired by previous disease, by intemperance, or otherwise. And hence the necessity of Missionary Societies being careful in regard to the physical as well as to the moral qualifications of those persons who offer themselves as missionaries to Africa.

The majority of persons from the United States who take up their residence in Liberia have some development of fever, in some form or other, within the first two months after their arrival. The most common form, perhaps, is that which medical writers generally call "Bilious Remitting Fever," which is usually simple in its character, and which generally yields readily, in a few days, to simple, mild, appropriate treatment. The first attack, however, is

generally followed, within a few days or weeks, by a second similar, or nearly similar, attack, or, which is more common, by one or other of the varieties of the intermitting form of fever; and to this latter kind of fever the individual is more or less subject until his system shall have become sufficiently adapted to the climate and to the local influences of the country to resist their peculiar effects. Not unfrequently the first attack, as well as the subsequent ones, assumes the intermitting form; in most cases, however, attended with considerable biliary derangement. The fever seldom assumes a strictly continued form, is seldom inflammatory, and it seldom terminates in permanent congestion of any internal organ. The congestive and inflammatory forms are perhaps never exhibited, except in cases in which there is some striking constitutional peculiarity. Bilious vomiting frequently occurs, in both the remitting and intermitting forms; and sometimes gastric irritability prevails to a considerable extent, and renders the proper management of the case rather difficult. In all cases the tongue is considerably furred, and in many cases headach<sup>e</sup>, more or less violent, continues during the continuance of the fever. Temporary delirium is sometimes present, during high febrile excitement; but it usually subsides with the remission or intermission of the fever.

In reference to the most successful mode of treatment, it is impossible to furnish any statement which will be sufficiently intelligible and comprehensive to justify the application of remedial medicinal means, without the judicious exercise of an enlightened judgment. I may, however, point out a few land-marks, and a few rocks and shoals, by which the untutored medical mariner may be able to steer his course with more safety than if he were entirely destitute of such information. And first, I would remark that there are two points of essential importance, which cannot be too

## Treatment of the acclimating fever.

strongly impressed on the consideration of all persons who expect to reside in Liberia: The first is, the great advantage of mental as well as physical quietude, and patient resignation; which necessarily imply the avoidance, as much as possible, of both mental and physical irritability, of despondency or gloomy forebodings, and of distrust in Divine Providence. Whoever goes to Africa, ought to go with the expectation of living, and if he should get sick he ought to try to get well again—to avoid all excitement, and to endeavor to be cheerful and contented. The greatest difficulty with which I generally had to contend, in the treatment of the acclimating fever, was to prevent mental depression or despondency in my patients. And I have invariably found, in cases in which patients obstinately and pertinaciously yielded to despondency, and abandoned all hope of getting well, that, sooner or later, their expectations were realized, and death closed the scene. The other point to which I would direct particular attention is, the danger of using medicinal agents too freely—of relying too much on the curative virtues of medicines, and not giving due attention to auxiliary means; which indeed are often of much more importance than all the pills and powders of the doctor or the druggist. I am quite satisfied that the lives of many persons have been sacrificed in Liberia, by the too free or the injudicious use of medicines, especially calomel and drastic cathartics.

In reference to the use of calomel, I may state, that although I generally found the necessity for its use in the majority of cases of the acclimating fever which came under my treatment, yet I used it much more cautiously and sparingly than it is generally used by medical practitioners in the United States. I never gave more than eight grains at a time, and seldom gave *more than fifteen grains* during one attack *sickness*. Whenever I found the ne-

cessity for its administration, in any case, I sometimes gave it in about two grain doses, at intervals of about two hours, usually in combination with some diaphoretic or sweating medicine, especially James' Powder. After three or four of these doses had been taken, I usually directed a moderate dose of castor oil to be taken, within ten or twelve hours after the first dose. In the beginning of an attack of fever, especially in those cases in which the tongue was much coated, and the patient complained of nausea, without free vomiting, I frequently gave a dose of calomel and ipecacuanha, in the proportion of six or eight grains of the former to about twenty of the latter. This dose usually produced sufficient action on the bowels, as well as vomiting. If it failed to move the bowels, I always directed some mild laxative afterwards—generally castor oil or rhubarb. In some cases I had no occasion to give any other medicine, during the attack, than the dose of calomel and ipecac; except generally, in the intermittent form, quinine to break up the periodicity of the attack. I never gave calomel with the intention of producing salivation:—this result I always endeavored to guard against; and, of the hundreds of cases which I treated, very few ever complained of the slightest soreness of the mouth. In the few cases, in which salivation resulted from the administration of calomel, in consequence of a strong constitutional tendency in the patients, I always observed that convalescence was more tedious—the patient requiring a longer time to regain his health and strength.

My favorite diaphoretics were, James' powder and sweet spirit of nitre; both of which I used frequently and freely. I generally found the latter of these two medicines very beneficial, in producing perspiration, when given during the febrile excitement, in the dose of about a teaspoon-

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 Medicines used in treating the acclimating fever.
 

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ful, at intervals of an hour or two. I sometimes found it necessary to be more cautious in the administration of the former, especially in cases in which much tendency to gastric irritability existed. I seldom used nitrate of potash, (a favorite diaphoretic with some physicians in this country,) in consequence of the tendency, in many cases, to irritability of the stomach.

In reference to the use of opiates, I may state, that, although I frequently found them highly beneficial, under circumstances which peculiarly indicated the necessity of their being administered; yet, I always endeavored to avoid the use of them as much as possible, in consequence especially of their general astringent and constipating effects. Whenever the case seemed to demand the use of any opiate, and the bowels were not constipated, especially if they were looser than desirable, I generally gave free doses—seldom less than fifty drops of laudanum, or one-fourth of a grain of Morphine. In some cases, in which the general system was in a highly irritable condition—quick and feeble pulse, dry skin, and sometimes violent headach, and sleeplessness, with or without delirium, I sometimes gave about one-third of a grain of morphine, in combination with five or six grains of James' powder, at night; and generally the patient was decidedly better on the following morning; after having enjoyed refreshing sleep during the night. A teaspoonful of paregoric, under similar circumstances, sometimes also produces very beneficial effects. But the judicious administration of opiate medicines, requires the exercise of more skill and judgment, than most persons possess, who have not given particular attention to the study of the animal economy, and the effects of medicinal agents.

I would strongly discourage the use of Epsom salts, as a cathartic: the only way in which it ought to be given, (if at all,) is in broken doses—not more than a teaspoonful at a time: in some cases of eruptive diseases, it may be beneficially used in this way; but it should never be given in active purgative doses. This remark is applicable to all other hydrogogue and drastic cathartic medicines. A favorite combination with me, was three grains of calomel, one-sixth of a grain of tartar emetic, and six grains of compound extract of colocyynth, made into two pills: I sometimes added one grain of gamboge; but I generally found the pills sufficiently active without the gamboge, if the medicines were good. This dose I used frequently to give, as an anti-bilious cathartic, and as a preparative for the administration of quinine, during an attack of intermitten fever. I have several times taken this combination myself, and always with decided benefit. As a mild, certain, and safe laxative, in cases in which the principal object was, to produce action of the bowels, I never found any thing to answer so well, as castor oil. Rhubarb, either alone, or in combination with calcined magnesia, will sometimes answer very well.

I frequently found great advantage from the application of blistering plasters; especially to the pit of the stomach, in cases attended with much irritability of that organ. I generally found that the vomiting ceased as soon as the plaster began to produce its peculiar effects. I sometimes also applied a blister plaster to the back of the neck, in violent headach, with decided advantage. In cases attended with marked inflammatory action in the stomach—great tenderness to pressure, irritability, and other prominent symptoms, I sometimes resorted to local depletion, by cupping; and I sometimes applied cups to the temples,

## Leeches—Quinine—How administered.

to relieve the head. I, however, more frequently resorted to the free application of *leeches* in such cases. These little animals are very plentiful in Liberia, and they can be easily procured, at any time. They are about one-third the size of the ordinary foreign leeches, which are used in the United States, and they draw much less blood. I have had nearly a hundred of them applied to myself at one time.

In the intermittent form of fever, *Quinine* is the *remedium magnum*. I seldom failed to break up the attack, in a few days, by the judicious use of this medicine; which, perhaps, approaches more nearly to a specific, than any other medicinal article. Although I had frequent attacks of intermittent fever during my residence in Liberia; yet I never had more than three paroxysm, during any one attack; and I was generally able to prevent the third, by the use of this valuable remedy. My usual mode of taking or administering it, was in doses of about two grains, at intervals of two hours, commencing about eight hours before the time of the expected chill or ague; whenever circumstances would admit its administration in this way. Sometimes, I gave it at intervals of one hour, commencing four or five hours before the time of the expected paroxysm. I generally found eight or ten grains to be sufficient. In cases in which the chill or ague came on early in the forenoon—say 7 or 8 o'clock—I generally gave a single dose of about five grains, within an hour of the time at which the paroxysm was expected. In most cases, I believe one such dose would prevent an ague, if it could be taken within an hour of the expected attack. But, in consequence of more or less irregularity respecting the time at which a paroxysm might be expected, I generally found it necessary to commence the use of the quinine several hours previous to the time at which the preceding paroxysm made its appearance.

It is best to continue the use of quinine two or three days after the chill or ague has been stopped, in two grain doses taken several times during the day.

I have but little confidence in the habitual use of wine, brandy, porter, ale, or any thing else of the kind, either as preventives of fever, or as tonics during convalescence, after an attack. The climate itself is too exciting and stimulating to the systems of new-comers generally; and, consequently, I always found it better to avoid the use of stimulating beverages; except in cases of great physical prostration by disease; in which some stimulating draught was imperatively demanded. During the first six months of my residence in Liberia, I always found the use of wine injurious, at any time, in my own case. And I am decidedly of opinion, that cold water is the best beverage, in Liberia as well as in the United States. The moderate use of wine or porter, or even brandy, may sometimes be advantageous, in those cases in which the system has become greatly enfeebled, by frequent attacks of fever, and by the protracted enervating influences of the climate; but, in the majority of cases, I think the use of such beverages ought to be entirely dispensed with.

I frequently found the use of various domestic remedies highly beneficial in the treatment of fevers in Liberia, particularly herb-teas, and the pepper cataplasm. The latter is almost universally used, instead of mustard; in consequence of pepper being more convenient, as well as more active in its effects. The pepper pods whether green or red, are cut into small pieces, and mixed with corn or rice meal, or wheat-flour, and water, and made into a poultice or plaster, in the same manner as mustard plasters are usually made. The burning effects of this poultice will be experienced in a few minutes. I have frequently found it to be very beneficial in relieving nausea or vomiting,

Diseases continued—Rheumatism—Dropsy—Cutaneous affections, &c.

and also colic pains, when applied over the stomach or abdomen. It is also a powerful revulsive agent, when applied to the ankles, wrists, bottom of the feet, or calves of the legs; and it is peculiarly beneficial in some cases, in which the use of such an agent is indicated. The infusion of an herb called "fever tea," is generally very beneficial, as a diaphoretic, when taken warm, and as an agreeable beverage when taken cold, instead of water. Various other vegetable substances, which abound in Liberia, may be advantageously used, in making innocent and useful medicinal infusions.

**SKETCH—No. 8.**

**DISEASES—Continued.**—In addition to the ordinary remittent and intermittent fevers, to which I have particularly alluded, I occasionally met with cases bearing some resemblance to other kinds of fever, which are usually described in medical books; but they were generally not sufficiently marked to justify the distinctive appellations of nosological arrangement. I never saw a well-marked case of yellow fever in Liberia; although this disease is frequently experienced at Sierra Leone, especially among European residents. Acute inflammatory diseases are not common in Liberia. I seldom met with distinctly marked cases of pleurisy, or of any other violent or active inflammatory disease. It is very fortunate that such affections are not common; for they are generally almost necessarily fatal in their termination.

Dysentery and diarrhea are by no means so common, as might be supposed. I seldom met with very obstinate cases of either of these diseases. Slight attacks of diarrhoea are occasionally brought on by the intemperate use of some kinds of fruits; and occasionally, in new-comers, by the too free use of some kinds of animal food, particularly fresh pork, beef, or fish. I met with a few cases of chronic dysentery;

and I experienced two or three attacks myself. Rheumatism, both acute and chronic, occasionally occurs, never very violent, however, in either form. Dropsical affections are rather frequent; especially local anasarca, or dropsy of the cellular membrane beneath the skin—a consequence of general debility, produced by frequent attacks of fever, inattention to diet and clothing, and undue exposure. It is not uncommon for the feet and legs of persons to swell more or less, during the acclimating process; especially white persons, and bright mulattoes. This swelling generally gradually subsides, as the system becomes better adapted to the climate. Ascites, or dropsy of the abdomen, sometimes occurs, as a consequence of chronic affections of the liver or spleen, especially enlargement of one or both of these organs, after a long residence in the country. Such cases, however, are not so common as might be supposed. I never met with more than a dozen cases, during my residence in Liberia. No course of treatment which I ever pursued, in such cases, seemed to produce any decidedly beneficial effects.

Cutaneous affections are quite common; some of which are peculiar to the country or climate. Among the common eruptive diseases, measles and erysipelas are most frequently observed. The former of these diseases prevailed very extensively throughout Liberia, in the early part of 1845; but it was generally milder than it usually is in the United States. The latter, erysipelas, generally appears in a mild form, with very little or no febrile action in the system. In the early part of 1848, small-pox prevailed pretty extensively in one of the settlements; but, in nearly every case, it was in the modified form, called varioloid. This form of small-pox has several times prevailed, epidemically, in one or other of the settlements; but it seldom proved fatal.

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 Leprosy—Ulcers—Flatulent colic.
 

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never saw but one case of genuine variola, in Liberia; although, in some cases, the small-pox contagion results in the exhibition of this form of the disease, during the epidemical prevalence of varioloid.

A peculiar endemical pustulous affection, called "craw-craw," or "kru-kru," sometimes attacks persons who are not very careful in regard to cleanliness. It is a very common disease among the natives, and it is generally regarded as being contagious. It is sometimes very painful and troublesome. Another disease of the skin, which is common among the natives, and which is occasionally observed among the Liberians, is the yaws; which consists of elevated excrescences, usually appearing in continuous clusters, and discharging a thin corrosive ichor. Sometimes the yaws appear on the soles of the feet, and prevent the patient from walking. Both these diseases are tedious and perplexing to both the patient and the doctor.

Lepra, or leprosy, is occasionally seen in Liberia; especially among the aborigines. This distressing disease usually appears in brownish blotches scattered over the body; from which a corrosive serous fluid is discharged. The toes and fingers frequently become ulcerated; and sometimes the unfortunate invalid loses all the fingers on one hand or both, or all the toes on the feet; and the soles of the feet are sometimes marked with deep fissures, or scooped out into ugly sores. The blotches on different parts of the body sometimes degenerate into foul and fetid ulcers of an irregular jagged appearance. This miserable disease sometimes continues to harass the individual for years; and it frequently results in death. I have, however, frequently seen native persons who had recovered, with the loss of a portion of their hands or feet, or of both, after having suffered excruciatingly for months or years. I never saw but one

well-marked case among the Liberians, and that was in a very old man.

The most common and troublesome cutaneous affections, (if they may be so classed,) which occur in Liberia, are *indolent ulcers*; which sometimes appear spontaneously; but which generally result from injuries, by which the skin is broken. The texture of the cutaneous and the muscular fibre seems to be more lax in tropical than in temperate climates; and slight scratches, or abrasions of the skin, are much more liable to degenerate into ulcers,—the degree of liability depending on the constitutional temperament of individuals, their habits, mode of living, &c. White persons and mulattoes are more subject to ulcerous affections as well as to most other diseases, than black persons; in consequence, I presume, of their physical systems being less adapted to the peculiarities of the climate;—a fact which must be admitted by all. These ulcers, though not generally very painful, are exceedingly annoying; especially when they occur on the feet; and they do not generally heal readily; sometimes continuing for several months. If persons would be sufficiently careful to avoid injuries of the skin, they would not be very liable to these troublesome affections.

Chronic nervous diseases are not very common in Liberia. I occasionally met with hysteria in females; and I saw one or two cases of epilepsy, and one case of tetanus, or locked-jaw. Convulsive affections are very rarely met with, in either infants or adults. Paralytic affections are occasionally, though seldom, seen. I never saw a distinctly marked case of whooping-cough in Liberia; nor did I ever hear of its having prevailed epidemically.

*Flatulent colic* frequently demands the attention of the physician. It is generally the result of the imprudent use of some indigestible article of food; and it

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 Intestinal Worms—Enlargement of the Spleen—Catarrhal Affections, &c.
 

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occurs more frequently in persons, during the first few months of their residence, than in older settlers. Sometimes the stomach and bowels become greatly distended with gas; and the patient suffers very violent pain in the abdomen. I had several attacks of this painful affection, during the first year of my residence in Liberia; the most violent of which was caused by the eating of a small piece of cheese. I was generally able to relieve the patient, afflicted with this disease, by the administration of a teaspoonful of laudanum, followed by a full dose of castor oil; the operation of which was sometimes assisted by an active injection; together with the application of a large pepper poultice over the abdomen. In some cases, especially when attended with a tendency to diarrhea, I gave nothing but the laudanum; or, what sometimes had a better effect, a pill composed of one-sixth or one-fourth of a grain of morphine and two grains of camphor. Persons cannot be too careful in avoiding the use of such articles of food, as are not easily digestible.

A very common affection, especially among children, is that of *intestinal worms*. The most common kind of worms which infest the alimentary canal, is the *ascaris lumbricoides*, or common round worm. All the other varieties, however, are sometimes observed. I have seen several cases, in which the individuals voided detached portions of the tenia, or tape-worm. In prescribing for patients having worms, I depended more on the free use of spirits of turpentine, combined with, or followed by, castor oil, than any other vermifuge, in all the varieties. Sometimes I gave a few grains of calomel, followed in three or four hours by a free dose of oil and turpentine.

In Liberia, as in other malarious countries or districts, cases of enlargement of the spleen—vulgarly called “fever-cake”—are frequently observed—the result of repeated attacks of intermittent fever. This is much

more common in white than in colored residents: very few white persons, indeed, are able to live five years in Liberia, without having more or less enlargement of the spleen. It is more frequently met with in mulattoes than in black persons: indeed, I do not remember a single case which came under my observation, in a person of undiluted African extraction; although I have no doubt that such persons are sometimes thus affected. The principal difficulty which usually arises from this affection, is, that it predisposes to dropsical affections. In many cases, however, dropsical effusions do not follow enlargement of the spleen; except occasional swelling of the lower extremities. A protracted sea-voyage, or a change of climate, is the only means with which I am acquainted, which will effect a reduction of this burdensome appendage.

Slight catarrhal affections, (influenza,) are occasionally experienced in Liberia; especially during the harmattan season; but these generally pass off in a few days, without any serious injury. I never knew a case to result in active inflammation of any part of the respiratory apparatus.

Some other diseases, which are common to most countries, may be occasionally observed in Liberia; but the variety is much less than in the United States; and, except in some old chronic affections, in broken-down constitutions, convalescence is generally much more rapid; in consequence of the less violence of the attack. Among the many attacks of fever which I experienced, I never was obliged to remain in my room more than a week, at any one time; and I very seldom was confined to my bed longer than twenty-four hours at a time. The danger in new-comers generally consists more in the frequency, than in the violence, of the attacks of sickness. And the majority of colored immigrants, who have sufficient prudence to use such means for the preservation of their health in Liberia, as an enlightened judgment would

"Sleepy Disease."

dictate, usually enjoy as good health, after the first year of their residence, as they formerly enjoyed in the United States. In some cases, indeed, the state of the health of immigrants is decidedly improved by the change of residence from America to Africa. The large majority of cases of sickness, which came under my observation, among those persons who had resided a year or more in Liberia, was in indolent, and consequently indigent, persons, whose prudence was commensurate with their improvidence. Indeed, in view of the heedlessness, carelessness, and indolence of many persons, who were scarcely ever sick, I was astonished at their continued exemption from disease.

I will conclude this brief medical history of Liberia, with a short notice of a peculiar endemic affection; which may be termed Lethargus, but which is commonly called the "Sleepy Disease." I have seen eight or ten cases of this somniferous malady; five or six of which were among persons who had emigrated from the United States. It is, however, much more frequently exhibited among the aborigines than among the Liberians. The only characteristic mark of this affection, is an irresistible tendency to sleep—the patient frequently falling asleep, even while eating. He can generally be easily aroused; but he almost immediately relapses into a state of profound slumber. The patient scarcely ever experiences the slightest pain; and no febrile symptoms are usually exhibited, until near the fatal close of the incurable malady. The appetite is usually voracious, and the bowels obstinately constipated. The food taken does not seem to nourish the system; in consequence of the disordered state of the organs of digestion and nutrition; the difficulty existing principally, perhaps, in the mesenteric glands. Indeed, the whole glandular system, including the lymphatic and the lacteal glands, seems to be in a

torpid state, in this affection. No peculiar marks of disease are usually exhibited, on examinations after death. In all cases of which I have heard, the brain especially appeared to be in a healthy condition—at least, that organ exhibited no perceptible evidence of disease; and no other part of the body exhibited any peculiar organical affection; except some of the lymphatic glands, which presented an enlarged and inflamed appearance. Those about the neck generally appear considerably swelled; and the natives sometimes extirpate those enlarged glands, under the impression that they are the source of the affection; with what success in removing the disease may be readily imagined by any intelligent person, in whom the bump of credulity is not too largely developed.

Among the various causes of this strange affection, which have been assigned, perhaps no particular one can be fully relied on. Indolent habits, unwholesome and indigestible vegetable diet, together with some peculiar influence of the climate, associated with the prolonged action of miasmata or malaria, operating on a system peculiarly predisposed to lethargy, may be regarded as the exciting cause, by which functional derangement of the nervous system is produced, resulting in a lost balance of the circulation, and a general functional impairment of the whole glandular apparatus of the body. The disease (if disease it may be called,) always approaches gradually; sometimes several months elapsing before it is fully developed. And, although I have had pretty fair opportunities of testing the virtues of various medicinal agents, in different stages of the disease; yet, I never was able to effect more than a temporary cessation of it, in the beginning, or a temporary mitigation of it, after its full development.

The most graphic notice of this lazy disease, with which I have met, is that given in the "Journal of an American Cruiser;"



## Conclusion.

and, as I saw the patient, in company with the author, I will subjoin an extract from that interesting little book. "We entered the hut without ceremony, and looked about us for old Mamma's beautiful granddaughter. But, on beholding the object of our search, a kind of remorse or dread came over us; such as often affects those who intrude upon the awfulness of slumber. The girl lay asleep in the adjoining apartment, on a mat that was spread over the hard ground; and with no pillow beneath her cheek. She slept so quietly, and drew such imperceptible breath, that I scarcely thought her alive. With some difficulty, she was aroused, and she awoke with a frightened cry—a strange and broken murmur, as if she were looking dimly out of her sleep, and knew not whether our figures were real, or only the phantasies of a dream. Her eyes were wild and glassy, and she seemed to be in pain. While awake, there was a nervous twitching about her mouth and in her fingers; but, being again extended on the mat, and left to herself, these symptoms of disquietude passed away; and she almost immediately sank again into the deep and heavy sleep, in which we found her. This poor girl had been suffering—no, not suffering, for, except when forcibly aroused, there appears to be no uneasiness, but she had been lingering two months in a disease peculiar to Africa—commonly called the 'sleepy disease.' Her aspect was inconceivably affecting. It was strange to behold her so quietly involved in sleep; from which it might be supposed she would awake so full of youthful life—and yet to know that this was no refreshing slumber; but a spell in which she was fast fading away from the eyes of those that loved her. Whatever might chance, be it grief or joy, the effect would be the same. Whoever should shake her by the arm—whether the accents of a friend fell feebly on her ear, or those of strangers, like ourselves, the only response would be that troubled cry; as of a

spirit that hovered on the confines of both worlds, and could have sympathy with neither. The peal of the last trumpet only will summon her out of that mysterious sleep."

## CONCLUSION.

Had I not been apprehensive that I might unnecessarily swell the size of this little work, by details which may be easily obtained from other sources, I might have dwelt, at considerable length, on the consideration of the nature of the civil government, and of the political institutions of Liberia.

I might also have made particular allusion to the results of missionary operations in Liberia, and its vicinity. But as there are various sources whence information may be derived on this subject; and as my situation did not afford me opportunities for making those frequent and protracted observations which I regard as necessary, in order to the presentation of strictly impartial and truthful statements, respecting the operations and results of the missionary enterprise; and also as such allusions and details do not come within the scope of the prescribed design of this work, it being intended particularly for the information of those persons who may be in search of truth, with the view of making Liberia the place of their future residence; I do not deem it necessary or proper for me to dwell on the detail of particulars, relative to the operations of missionary societies; especially as I do not regard myself as altogether competent, as before observed, to present full and faithful statements on this subject; and as I feel disposed to write only what I do know, and testify what I have seen.

In reference to the civil government of Liberia, I may here simply state, that it is based on the principles of republicanism; and, in every essential particular, it may be regarded as a miniature representation of the Government of the United States; the

## President—Senators—Representatives—Expenses of the Government, &amp;c.

only particular point of difference being in the name of the national assembly, which is styled Legislature instead of Congress; and in the time of service of the principal officers of the Government. The President is elected by the popular vote, for two years, and he is eligible to re-election.—The Senators, of whom there are two from each county—six in all—are elected for four years, and the Representatives, of whom there are eight in all, are elected for two years. The only cabinet officers who have yet been commissioned are, the Secretaries of State and of the Treasury, and the Attorney General. All the officers of justice are appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate. The judicial power of the Republic is vested in a supreme court, a court of quarter sessions, in each county, and magistrate's courts, which meet monthly. No white person is allowed to become a citizen; consequently, white residents cannot hold any office in the Government.

Previous to the establishment of the Republic the current expenses of the Government were defrayed by the duties on importations; the average annual amount of which was about \$8,000. But as additional expenses have been incurred by the change in the political relations, the amount derived from that source alone is not sufficient for the necessary expenditures in the support of the Government. Hence, the passage of a law at the first session of the Legislature of the Republic, in January 1848, by which the Government monopolises the trade in certain articles. It is calculated that the revenue arising from the profits on the sale of these articles, together with the custom duties, will be sufficient to meet the expenses of the Government. I am apprehensive that this governmental monopoly will not operate so well as some of its sanguine supporters imagine; and that circumstances will render it expedient for a system of direct taxation to be adopted,

and carried into operation; or for a considerable increase of the tariff.

The Government of Liberia is now altogether in the hands, and under the entire management of the citizens of Liberia, no white person, on either side of the Atlantic, being, in any way, connected with its operations. And if the disputed question has not yet been fully settled, whether colored persons are capable of self-government or not, a few years will decide the point. The people of Liberia are now fairly "self-poised," and feeling confident, as I do, of the clemency and forbearance of all foreign nations towards that infant Republic, so long as the Government shall be maintained on the principles of national rectitude, (without which no government is worthy of encouragement,) I am quite satisfied that if the Republic of Liberia shall ingloriously fall, and her institutions be demolished, or if those institutions shall be voluntarily transferred to the control and management of any foreign power, the result will indubitably exhibit the melancholy fact, that the maintenance of an independent government by the colored race is at least, a subject of dubious practicability. I confidently hope, however, that the "lone star" of the Republic of Liberia, which is now culminating over a portion of the western coast of benighted Africa, will continue to shine, not like the brilliant meteor, or the erratic comet, but like the effulgent orb of day, which sheds his enlivening beams with increasing splendor as he ascends above the fleecy clouds which overhang the eastern sky.

In addition to the brief reflections which have been thrown out, in the different parts of this work, I would here make a few suggestions which may be worthy the particular attention of those persons who may emigrate to Liberia. The reader will, no doubt, be fully convinced, if he believes the statements herein exhibited, of the practicability of a comfortable competency being realized in Liberia, as the reward of indu-

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The Cultivation of the Soil—the chief source of Wealth and Independence.

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try and frugality. And the intelligent man of color who is accustomed to observation and reflection cannot but be convinced that he may enjoy privileges there—the privileges of a freeman in the full import of the term, of which he is virtually deprived in every part of the United States, by the conventional rules of society among the dominant inheritors of a fairer complexion. But while I do not hesitate, in view of the facts set forth in this work, to recommend Liberia as an inviting field for enterprise, and a desirable place of residence; I may here state that, during my residence there, my eyes were not too frequently dazzled by captivating sights of agricultural industry, and of mechanical enterprise, to blind me to the conviction that much remains to be done, before the little African Republic can be regarded as an earthly paradise.

In reference to the cultivation of the soil, especially, which is the true road to independence in any country, I may remark, that comparatively few of the present citizens of Liberia are regularly and systematically engaged in this branch of practical industry. Unfortunately for the prosperity of Liberia, many of the earlier settlers fancied that they had found a more easy and more speedy highway to wealth, in the wholesale, retail, and demoralizing system of barter with their ignorant aboriginal neighbors; and many of their successors, lured on by this apparently accommodating means of ease and comfort, started their little crafts in the wakes of those of their predecessors; and not a few of them, in their eagerness to become rich, have failed to be warned by the disasters which attended many of those who preceded them. But happily for Liberia, the traffic in cam-wood and palm oil is becoming so unprofitable, in consequence of excess of competition, not only among the Liberians themselves, but among foreign traders, that it must soon occupy a station, as a source of

wealth, inferior to that of the cultivation of the soil: the siren song of commercial experiment must give place to the cheerful hum of agricultural industry. I trust that the citizens of Liberia are generally becoming aroused to a consciousness of this important truth, and indeed during the last few years more attention has been given to agriculture than previously. Yet much remains to be accomplished, to demonstrate to distant nations the fact that Liberia is one of the most productive countries in the world; a fact, which I believe may, and I hope will be clearly demonstrated, by the quantity and quality of agricultural products which may be exported, and by the comfort and independence of a respectable yeomanry.

A more *regular, systematic, and persevering* course of farming operations must, however, be introduced. Greater attention ought also to be given to agricultural experiments, to develop the resources of the soil; and to ascertain the most appropriate periods of the year, for the planting of different vegetable substances. Much more attention should also be given to the raising of different kinds of stock; and to the introduction of various mechanical inventions, in carrying on agricultural operations.

One very important thing which has received very limited attention in Liberia, is that of fencing, or the enclosing of lots and fields; by the neglect of which, many persons have frequently lost the principal part of the fruits of their labor, in the tilling of the soil. Undoubtedly, the best fences which can be made in Liberia are those that are commonly called "growing fences," made by planting certain shrubs closely together, and trimming them occasionally. Several different kinds of shrubs may be easily and abundantly procured, for making these fences. And, with proper attention, a piece of land may, in two or three years, be thus securely and substan-

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 Concluding Remarks.
 

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tially enclosed with a fence which will last many years.

Hitherto, the people of Liberia generally have been too easily intimidated or discouraged by comparatively small obstacles; some of which have been more imaginary than real. Difficulties, however, do really exist; but these difficulties are generally far less than those which exist in carrying on farming operations in any part of the United States. And I am quite satisfied that every thing which is really necessary for human subsistence and comfort, together with many luxuries, can be raised in Liberia, with much less labor than would be required to procure the necessaries of life in the United States.

Let the cultivation of the soil, then, receive that attention which it should receive, as the principal means of wealth—let a regular, systematic, and persevering course of agricultural operations be carried on; and the citizens of Liberia may live in ease and comfort and independence.

In tracing the various events connected with the rise and progress of the Republic of Liberia, no unprejudiced individual can for a moment doubt that the smiles of Heaven have rested upon it; and that the sheltering wings of a kind Providence have been spread over it for good—not only to the immigrants from this country, but to the benighted and degraded aborigines of Africa—a land which has so long been enveloped in the darkness of heathenism.—And, in view of the social and political position and relations of colored persons in the United States, contrasted with the position and relations of the free and independent citizens of that young Republic, it must be admitted by all candid persons, that the condition of those people in Liberia who are disposed to use the necessary appliances for making themselves truly independent, is vastly superior to that of free *people of color* in any part of this country.

*Though many difficulties* have been en-

countered in the progressive exaltation of the infant Colony to the present interesting and flourishing Republic, and though many obstacles will necessarily be presented to its onward progress; yet, it is clearly evident that the experiment has been fairly tried, the experiment of establishing on the coast of Africa a community and government of colored immigrants from this country,—and has been crowned with complete success;—a success even beyond the most sanguine expectations of the benevolent founders of the Colonization Society; who amidst difficulties which seemed almost insurmountable, determined to try what could be done towards the establishment on the coast of Africa of an asylum and a home for the people of color of the United States; who, in the language of a public journalist, “are here restricted in the exercise of the very elementary principles of existence best calculated to expand and exalt the heart and mind,” and who, in every part of this country, must continue to labor under political and social disadvantages; from which they can be fully rescued in no other way than by voluntarily emigrating to a country in which the restrictions that are here thrown around them cannot operate—a country in which they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

In the providence of God, by the efforts of those who have been “laborers together with him,” such an asylum has been established:—difficulties which at first appeared almost insuperable have been overcome; and Liberia now presents an inviting field for commercial enterprise and agricultural industry, and a desirable home for all persons of color who wish to realize the privileges of freedom and the blessings of independence.

But while I would heartily recommend Liberia as a desirable place of residence for colored persons who are disposed to appreciate the advantages and to improve

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 Concluding Remarks.
 

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the privileges there afforded, I would not advise any person to emigrate thither, who will not go cheerfully, and with a determination to try to overcome every obstacle that may be presented. I am decidedly of opinion, that, with a cheerful, contented mind, and industrious habits, colored persons may live more easily, more comfortably, and more independently than they can in the United States. In Liberia, however, as in all other new countries, industry and perseverance are necessary; and while to the man of enterprise and frugality it affords a desirable home, and promises a rich reward to his labors, it offers no encouragement to those who expect to live in luxurious ease and pampered indolence.

In conclusion, I would repeat, that I firmly believe that the hand of an overruling Providence has been extended over the progressive course of that little Republic. And, whatever may be said in opposition to the wise and benevolent scheme of Colonization; and however apparently plausible may be the objections of persons who are unfriendly to the cause; it is clearly evident to any individual whose mind is unprejudiced, especially to those who have had opportunities for personal observation and investigation as to the results of that enterprise, that it is one of the instruments in the hands of the Almighty Ruler of the universe for carrying out his wise designs with reference to Africa. And in view of what has already been accomplished, and of the incalculable amount of good which may yet be accomplished, through the instrumentality of the Colonization Society, and

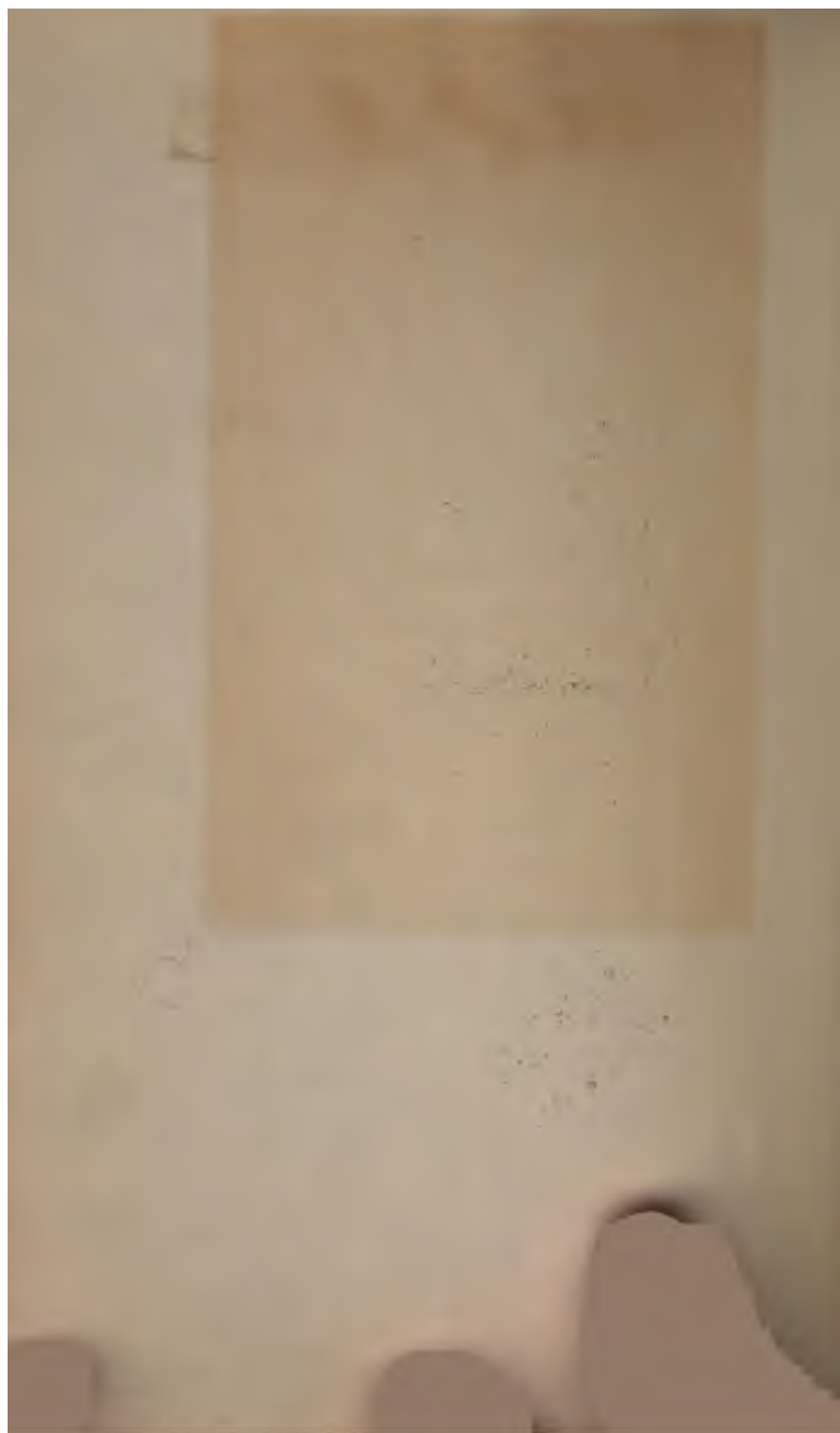
of the Republic of Liberia; surely no true friend of the colored race can consistently oppose the operations of the former, or withhold the expression or exhibition of a sincere desire for the continued prosperity of the latter.

Through the instrumentality of the Government of Liberia; much has been done towards the suppression of the nefarious traffic in slaves. Within the jurisdiction of that miniature Republic, whence, a few years ago, hundreds and thousands of miserable beings were transported, like inanimate objects of merchandize, to the western world, the slave-trade has been entirely abolished; and many of the contiguous native tribes have laid down their weapons of warfare, and have sought the protection of that Government. And I verily believe that God intends that the mental illumination of the degraded aborigines of Africa; is to be effected chiefly by her own returning civilized and christian children—by the influence and example of colored immigrants and teachers from this side of the Atlantic; carrying with them and introducing among the ignorant natives, habits of civilized life, and the blessings of the gospel of peace and salvation; and by the missionary labors of enlightened and converted native inhabitants. Thus shall the belligerent hordes of Africa be induced to convert their instruments of warfare into agricultural implements; thus shall the slave-trade be effectually and forever suppressed; and thus shall Ethiopia be taught to stretch out her hands unto God.

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